

ANAKOTA ETEPOTIAKA
OR, THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

Written Originally by that Fam'd
Historian, the *Sieur de Varillas*.

Made English by FERRAND SPENCE.

L O N D O N,

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY,
EARL of
P E M B R O K E, &c.

My LORD,

I Am sensible that this Mortification of your Triumphs, by so unseasonable an Address, when your Lordship has hardly had time to breathe, after Victory over Rebels, to be engaged in the so formidable Rencounter, as that of a Dedication, may, at first, seem a Crime not to be expiated. But if it be consider'd, that your Lordship has exerted your Loyalty in such a manner, that your Actions bear that Face and Character, as challenge, not only

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our present Admirations and Eulogies, but stand as Glorious Examples, as well to all Posterity, as the present Age, and will, undoubtedly, prove the greatest Embellishments of the *English History*, it cannot, in the least, be wond'ed that I strike in with the publick Celebrations. Freedoms and Presumptions of this nature, are the inevitable Attendants of such like Performances as your Lordships; and since the Advantages, we reap thence, are so great, it seems unreasonable to debar us of our Acclamations. The Generous and Brave must either lye Idle, and not furnish us with such Charming Subjects for Discourse, or they must suffer us to exult for the Benefits we thence derive, and not hinder us from giving open expressions of our Delight and Satisfaction.

These Considerations have, I hope, withheld to plead my Excuse, for the boldness of this Offering, and give some reasonable Varnish to the Ambition of being the first that has this way taken to blaze the

Insigne recens, ad huc

Indictum ore alio.

Besides, I do not a little pride my self in the Value and Quality of what I Consecrate to your Lordship: This is not like most of the

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the Books, now commonly publish'd, that resemble those Eggs incapable of Generation, *Sunt Ova Zephyria*, that produce nothing in the Mind, and from whence we cannot derive the least Profit and Instruction. No, My Lord, this is the Master-piece of one of the attest Pens of this Age, the Author had already, by other his Works, obtain'd the name of a finish'd Writer, and a perfect Historian.

How well he has merited this Title, your Lordship will find, all along: by his exquisite taste, as to what can please, or displease, tire, or divert; and though he omits nothing necessary, yet is he Concise or Copious, as is most Consistent with the due Beauty of his Work. Nothing of Prejudice appears in him. He is not warp'd nor tainted by Passion, or Interest, or Faction. He blames not, nor Commends, so as to make a Satyr, or an Encomium. He suffers not Fear or Hope at his Elbow, to jog him on to soothe the Moderns, or curry-favour with Posterity. His Impartiality being such, that from his Relations, there's no guessing at his Country, or his Religion, or his Friends, or his Party. He is far from imitating even those Great Men, that make Speeches for Persons long since dead, which is degenerating History into Romance; tho' some will have it,

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that tho' it be not Truth, it will serve our turn as well. But this is the Banner of Novels and Poetry, and not the Essential of History. Besides, such Decorations and Flourishes, are only capable of dazzling and amusing the Mobile; and a Plain, Blunt, Down-right Truth shall, in a solid Mind, obscure all their Lustre. Not but that his Truths have often the Air of Fiction, but the uttering in of such, are the Prerogative of an Anecdoto-grapher. He does not here and there, by starts, make Parade of Wit, but enchases it throughout the whole Piece. Nor does he lye perdue, on all occasions, to be stirring in an Elegancy, but sometimes expresses a mighty Thought in one single word, or hints it without saying it. Yes, my Lord, these ~~Authors~~ all along speak a nice and general Knowledge of Men and of Things, a Profound, Subtle and Penetrating Wit, capable of unweiling the true Causes of Humane Actions, from their Pretexts and Colours. They are a sort of Cabiner, Historical Inquisition, carrying along a Fancy quick and judicious, conceiving Things aright, and Minding them afterwards answerable to the Conceptions. When my Author's subject leads him near a Battel, he has so prepar'd his Readers, that they themselves seem flusht for Engagement, tho' the quality of his Writing

oblige

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obliges him to wheel 'em off. When he speaks of a Treaty, of the Passions of a Prince, or of a Minister, his Readers imagine themselves enter'd into Negotiation, are agitated with the same desires, the same uneasinesses and disquiets. The stile of the Original is neither too negligent, nor too ponder'd, but Plain, Chaste, Perspicuous and Familiar, yet without being low and crawling, and throughout accompanied with Dignity, yet rather lofty in Sentiments than Words, tho' speaking all the Delicacy of the most Polite Courtiers. For he is still mindful that he entertains all Nations and Ages, that he has the whole Earth for his Audience, and to Eternity speaks before the whole Congress of Humane kind, where nothing ought to bolt from him, but what bears the Character of Modesty, of Recluseness, of Respect and Good Manners. And he has herein manifested how infinitely he has refin'd upon *Procopius*, as his Pattern, who has most nauseously violated this Rule in more than a thousand Passages. And take we him only as he is purg'd and retrench'd by *Nicolas Alemannus*, yet Monsieur *Varillas* has infinitely the Preference over that Antient, without needing to supply the besitting Vacuities he has made, by the *Vatican* Copy, to applaud the Invetives that *Balthazar Boniface*, *Trivorius*,

le Maréchal-Payeur, and sundry other Criticks have utter'd against that Historian. Indeed the Genius of an Anecdoto-grapher being the same with that of a Plain-dealer, will not byass him to Employ, and his Labour and his Industry, or innocently or designedly, to abuse future Ages. And herein my present Author has had, as well the good Fortune, as the Ability and good Will, to do the World Justice; his quality of the *French King's* Library-keeper advantaging him above any other, to thrust into Modern Antiquity. And this he has achiev'd with that Perfection, that there is not a Person he introduces, but he appears to be acquainted with his every Inclination, and Aversion, and Failure, and weak side. He shews us whence proceed the Complaisances, the Insinuations, and all the curious measures that make an Art of winning Hearts, or, at least, of carrying Good Will. In fine, my Author, in this his Performance, has the Gravity of *Livy*, the Politicness of *Salust*, the Policy of *Tacitus*; and had it been the Province of an Anecdoto-grapher, could, doubtless, have shewn as large a knowledge in Taciticks as *Polybius*.
 But, my Lord, to be more particular, and instance the Union *M. Varillas* has made of the Talents of *Tacitus* and *Salust*, in these

his

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his *Artis et*, and thereby his Advantages over those two Authors, *Tacitus*, has been observ'd to convert every thing into Policy, that he suffers Nature and Fortune to have little share in Occurrences, and often gives far fetch'd Causes for Actions altogether Plain, Common, and Natural. Thus out-going Affairs by too much Depth and Sagacity; that his Pieces are too finish'd, through over-much Art, and too little Nature; and sometimes too curious and too finical Speculations interpose fine glittering Ideas, in the room of true Objects, without considering that Nature is never so curbd, and under the Hatches, but that it still as much influences our Actions, as we can regulate its Movements. For Irresolution and Passions prevail equally in the Great, as in the Vulgar. And often a little Cabinet-pique, or Bed-Chamber Quarrel, occasions a rumbling World, and is the source of the greatest Transactions. Something of the Partisan Temper does evermore tinge the most concerted Designs. And this my Author has accurately observ'd, in his Relation of the Imprisonment and Exile of *Cosmo de Medici*, Sir-named the Old, occasion'd through Envy at his Great Power and Riches, acquired by his Universal Traffick from *Perfis* into *Andalusia*, there being nothing finer than

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than his Account of all the Tricks, Finesses, and Cabals, that blew up and disappointed their Project, and banish'd and recalled *Cosmo*. His Pourtraict of *Leo* the 10th far excell's *Tacitus* his *Tiberius*; who, beyond Nature, is made to possess an Universal Artifice. Whereas *Varillas* his Pope, tho' he has Complaisances to his own Interests, and to those of his Family, as dash his Picture with such strokes, as do not over-much Honour to his Memory; yet is there nothing but what suits with the State of Mortals; nay, and he has done him Justice, too, with respect to his Wit and Knowledge, and Politeness, and Liberality, and Gracefulness in saying Mass, and his Inclination for the *Virtuosi*, which he inherited from his Father.

Thus, your Lordship will observe, that my Author, like *Salust*, displays and trumps up Nature as well as Policy, for a grand source of all Sublunary Movements and Revolutions. He is so civil to Fortune too, as to admit her an Ascendant over Humane Life, and, in many Cases, bringing things about beyond Probability, which is a Courtesie of *Aristotle*, not allow'd of by Publick History. And of Fortune's Caprices he gives us many Instances throughout his whole Book, which it's unnecessary here to particularize. And thus, with Providenti-

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al Workings, does he Enamel a true Map
of Nature, shadowing it with the Blemishes
and Frailties, liable to the most Divine, Phi-
losophical Humanity.

But after all, your Lordship will perceive,
his main care is to paint and shew the Ge-
nuinsses of the Personages he Introduces,
knowing Affairs will naturally follow.
Thus having giv'n us the Characters of
the *Riarri*, and of other the Authors of
the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, wherein he is war-
ranted by *Onuphrius Parvinius*, an *Augustine*
Friar, entirely devoted to the Interests of the
Court of *Rome*; I say, considering their
Characters, we neither startle, nor do we
wonder at that horrible Design. His Pourtrait
of *Lorenzo de Medici*, in my mind, far surpasses
that of *Xenophon's Cyrus*, and we cannot but e-
vermore Commemorate that Great Man with
the utmost Veneration, for being the princi-
pal Restorer of Sciences in the West, and
causing the Polite Arts to flourish again,
by his Caresses and Liberalities to the
Muses.

But these *Asiatics* may, perchance, by some
Gentlemen, be tax'd with containing Reflecti-
ons, injurious to a Sovereign House; but
with your Lordships Permission, I would
fain

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saith know of these Gentlemen, what
Seem, however Holy, what Dignities and
Offices, however August and Sacred,
but have been tarnish'd by unworthy
Members. Our Saviour himself, tho' he
call'd his Twelve, yet had he a Judas.
How often did the Race of David degene-
rate? How often was the High Priest's
Office, among the Jews, blemish'd by un-
worthy Officiaries? The Richest of Hu-
mane Blood Ebbs and Flows, Stagnates and
Corrupts; and since the whole Race of
Mankind is subject to these Infirmities, no
wonder that the House of Medici has, in
some of its Offspring, participated of the
Enailties incident to the state of Man.

And this, I suppose, is sufficient to urge
in behalf of my Author and his Book.
And I will only now crave leave of your
Lordship, to drop a Word in excuse of
my self, his Interpreter. Some will, per-
haps, carp at me, for calling my Tra-
duction a Secret History, whereas the O-
riginal had already made the matter Pub-
lick; but against this, and other Cavils
and Objections, that might be rais'd on
the same account, I shall not stand to
make a Defence, having, for what I have
done, the Authority of all *Procopius* his
Transla-

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Translators, as to my Version, I labour'd under some Difficulties, through an imperfect Copy: but when we have the whole compleat, I am in hopes of laying it at your Lordships Feet, rectified from such failures.

I have nothing farther to add, but to beg your Lordships Pardon, for aspiring to the Honour of your Protection to this foreign Production. And as I do not design this for a Panegyrick, but as an Humble Address for your Lordships Patronage, I will not pretend to refine upon the Publick, that is perpetually Celebrating your Lordship for a perfect Model of Honour and Virtue. But though a Relation of their Praises might seem an Attack upon Modesty, yet that of their Blessings must needs be satisfactory. Yes, my Lord, all Loyal Hearts bless you, for having so very conspicuously, and advantageously distinguish'd your self in the Defence of the Sacred Blood of *England*, and the true Interests of the Kingdom. Yet, as if Fame thought us not sufficient for your Eulogies, she has occasion'd your being Courted to accept of the Best and most Honourable Posts and Employments beyond the Seas. But though other Nations, as well

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in our own, speak a more peculiar regard for your Lordships Merit and Gallantry; yet, I am sure, no Man can be with a more profound Respect and Passion, than my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Humble,

Most Devoted, and

Most Obedient Servant,

F. Spence.

THE

The AUTHOR's
PREFACE.

IF *Procopius*, the only Author from whom we have ^{any} *Antiquities* remaining to us, had left behind him the Rules of that kind of Writing, I should not lye under the Obligation of Penning a Preface, being the Authority of that excellent Historian, whom the *French King's* Press has lately presented so Correct to the World, would be sufficient to screen me from all sorts of Reproaches, supposing I had observ'd them with exactness.

But as the Art of writing secret History is still unknown, almost in its whole
a Extent,

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Extent, and no Philosopher, hitherto, has taken the pains to draw up the Method of it, nor Critick dar'd to shew its Defects, I think my self reduc'd, like those who ingage in new Paths, *viz.* that I take all the Precautions necessary, to prevent being damn'd at the entrance of my Work; and therefore mean to impose Laws on my self, according to which, I pretend to be try'd by an equitable Reader, on Condition I neither borrow them from my Reason nor Caprice, but only from the Examples of *Procopius*, whom I will ever have in ken, seeing I cannot find any other Guide.

Thus it is, with his Approbation, that I lay down for a Foundation of this Discourse, that it is not so easie a matter to write *Asiæform*, as People may imagine, because, on one side, a Man cannot dispence himself from any

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any of the Rules that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*,
Plutarch, and other the Masters of
th' Art have so judiciously prescrib'd
for Publick History; and on th' o-
ther, there are many others, which I
shall relate in the Series of this Preface,
which he is no less indispensably bound
to observe, from whence I draw two In-
ferences, holding of the Paradox. The
first is, what Liberty foever, not to say
Libertinage, that's attributed to *Alexander*,
there is no kind of Writing more
constrain'd, nor more reserv'd, since
it has not a quarter of the Extent
which the most scrupulous Histori-
ans propose to themselves. The se-
cond is, That there's no kind of Sla-
very greater, for an Anecdoto-gra-
pher, than to be ty'd to tell the truth
in all its Circumstances, ev'n when he
handles the nicest matters.

I explain my meaning by so known
and memorable an Example, that it

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cannot be question'd. Certain it is, that *Procopius* has perform'd the Duty of a perfect Historian, when that seeking into the Cause that made the Emperour, *Justinian*, recall *Belisarius* out of *Africa*, from whence he had drove the *Vandales*, in three Months space, tho' the presence of that Great Captain was absolutely necessary to settle his new Conquest. He writes, that this Service was of such Consideration, that *Justinian*, not finding himself capable of rewarding it, was afraid lest *Belisarius*, having his Arms in hand, might do himself Justice.

Procopius stopp'd there, as thinking he had satisfy'd the Laws of History; and certainly there would have been injustice in demanding of him then any thing further. But when he bethought himself, long after, to labour upon those *Antiquities*, he

fancy'd

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fancy'd there was no more Disguise to be us'd upon so fantastical a matter, that its most concealed Minutes ought to be laid open, and that his Readers Curiosity wou'd not be fully satisfy'd, without at least revealing to him that Court Mystery, which tho' he had caus'd to pass in the second Book of the War of the *Vandales*, for an effect of a Sovereign's Ingratitude and Jealousie towards one of his Subjects, whom Fortune lifted too high, was, properly speaking, only an Intrigue of Love of *Antonina*, *Belisarius* his Wife, she being Cock-a-hoop to return to *Constantinople*, there to see again the infamous Object of her Passion.

Procopius took the same Course in his Books of the *Gothick War*, when he had spoken of the same *Belisarius* his second or third Disgrace; for after having, with all the vigour of his

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stile, exaggerated the Prejudice *Justinian* did his own Concerns, by degrading that brave General, in the very instant he came from taking *Rome*, and delivering *Italy* from the Lording of the *Goths*, by winning of a Battel, wherein the King and all the Royal Family remained Prisoners; he was contented with writing, that *Belisarius* his Enemies were sufficiently powerful, at the Imperial Court, to procure his Repeal.

But he speaks much more home in his *Arrianus*, wherein he maintains, that the true and principal Cause of his Degradation, came from the Empress *Theodora*, *Justinian's* Wife, who being desirous to make *Belisarius* purchase the Continuation of his Employment, caus'd him to return to *Constantinople*, where she propos'd to him the obtaining his re-establish-

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re-establishment, on condition that his Daughter, who was to be the only Heiress of the immense Riches he possess'd, shou'd Marry the Empress's Nephew, having nor Estate nor Virtue, nor Birth, *Belisarius* Sacrific'd his Daughter to his Ambition, and recover'd the Generalship at that price; But he kept it but two years: And in this place do I make a third Observation upon the Conduct of *Procopius*.

For tho' he owns *Belisarius* to have surpass'd himself by recovering the City of *Rome*, and the rest of *Italy*, which the *Barbarians* had seiz'd on during his absence, tho' he declaims against the harshness of *Justinian* and *Theodora's* Infidelity, who recalled him unseasonably for the third time, yet was not he wanting however, when he examines the occasion of it, towards the end of his second Book,

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to have recourse to the same Calumny, he had made use of, to explain the foregoing Disgrace. And 'tis only in his *Ariadne*, that representing *Belisarius* once again upon the Precipice, he draws the Curtain, and downright avers, that what absolutely pusht him in it, was, that the Empress had got a Fancy to have his Wife return to *Constantinople*, to have a Confident, nay, and a Companion in her Disorders. The reason of so different a Conduct, in one and the same Author, proceeds, if I be not mistaken, from that the Historian considers almost ever Men in Publick, whereas the Anecdoto-grapher only examines 'em in private. Th' one thinks he has perform'd his duty, when he draws them such as they were in the Army, or in the tumult of Cities, and th' other endeavours by all means to get open their Closet-door;

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door; th' one sees them in Ceremonv, and th' other in Conversation; th' one fixes principally upon their Actions, and th' other wou'd be a Witness of their inward Life, and assist at the most private hours of their leisure: In a word, the one has barely Command and Authority for Object, and the other makes his Main of what occurs in Secret and in Solitude.

Not but that the Writer of *Arrière* draws a Picture of Persons, as exact, and as faithful, at the least, as can be done by the Historian; but he does it after his own Mode. He represents only as much of the Man's Out-side, as is necessary to know his Inside; and as the good and bad dispositions of the Mind, are only to be disclos'd in the Manners, 'tis also for the Manners that he reserves his liveliest Colours, and finest Materials.

So

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So scrupulous is he in this point, that he minds not provoking the Anger, or incurring the Indignation of the Persons Concern'd. But he is commonly so unhappy, that what ought to pass for a Virtue, is imputed to him as a Crime. He supposes for one of his Principles, that fine Secret which *Plutarch* first discover'd in Moral Philosophy, namely, That there is no state in Life, wherein a Man is more careless to conceal what passes in the bottom of his Heart, than when the passion that Lords him is arriv'd to excess.

However, when he follows the divers Agitations occasion'd, for example, by the fury of Love, and the despair of Jealousie, he is forthwith aspers'd as a Detractor; and that he only writes a Satyr, wherein his Condition is much more unhappy, than that of the Painter, who is fully justify'd,

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Justify'd, if he can shew that his Portrait altogether resembles th' Original, whereas the Writer of *Asperity* has never more reason to fear being ill-treated, than when what he relates of Viciousness is most true.

I insist upon this point, it being, perchance, that which has diverted Historians, before and since *Procopius*, from this kind of Writing, and which, by Consequence, must needs set me a trembling. I undertake to draw the Picture of Pope *Clement* the 7th, and if I design to do it to the Life, I must detect his Ruling Passion, and examine to its least Symptoms. Not a Man, that I know of, has yet said what it was; and I am the first that maintains it to have consisted in a blind and whimsical desire, with which he was ever possess'd, of ravishing his fellow Citizens of their Freedom, to raise to the Sovereignty of *Florence*,

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two Bastards of his House, though it did not then want several Legitimate Children, whose Heroick actions might have merited the Choice, and whom all Mankind judg'd, beyond Comparison, more capable of filling that place.

I do not fear being Cavill'd upon this Proposition, as being sure there cannot any material Circumstance be found in the Life of that Pope, but what alludes to this Assertion. Nay, I fancy, that if I proceeded no further, I should be so happy as to scape the on-set of Criticks. But have I not reason to lye under dismal Apprehensions, when the necessity of my subject shall oblige me to grope on, and put Truth in all its Light? When the sad Destiny of *APOLLO*, that cannot indure any thing mysterious, would be left to Posterity without explaining it, or any thing secret without

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without revealing it, shall ingage me insensibly to take off the Paint, with which Historians fucus'd most of *Clement's* Actions, to shew how many weaknesses and faults against true Policy, budded from this first irregularity, and to explain the minutes of those failings, which past, at length, ev'n to the preference of the youngest of those two Bastards, to the eldest, tho' the youngest had not any of the qualities necessary for Command and Government, and that the Eldest possess'd them all, by the consent of those who knew him, and ev'n to the exposition of *Catharine*, only Daughter, and sole Heiress of his House, in a Curb'd, Head-strong, and Rebellious Town, whose Inhabitants he had reduc'd to despair, by a Siege of eighteen Months.

Moreover the Writer of *Andromeda*
makes

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makes a scrupule of charging himself with pompous matters, and as he principally aims at knowing what is peculiar in the Inclinations, he stops sometimes, to glean up such matters as were neglected and flung aside by the Historian. An unforeseen Answer serves him to penetrate into the bottom of Peoples Intentions. If he had been at *Florence* with *Alessandro de Medici*, one bare word of that Duke, wou'd have suffic'd him to make his Pourtrait. He wou'd have suppos'd that the impenetrability of his Secret, his being his own sole Confident, was it self his true Character, as soon as he had heard him say, that he was himself the Keeper of his own Designs; but a Keeper so Jealous, that he did not allow 'em to stir one moment out of his heart, to take the Air upon the brink of his Lips.

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I ingenuously own, that the Historian does not do the like, and willingly do I leave him in possession of that fine Maxime of *Adrianus Maxcellinus*, *Discurrere per Negotiorum Celsitudines non humilium minutias indagare Causarum*. I take it kindly of *Lucian*, for having rally'd those who wou'd go another way to Work, and I blame *Guichiardini* for having so often violated this Rule; but I pretend likewise to be left in my turn, to enjoy, peaceably, the Priviledge of *Abusum*, and to relate with a serious Air, the smallest trifles, when they have been th' Origine or occasion of the greatest Matters.

Perhaps I shall have the Validity of these Priviledges deny'd me, upon that *Procopius*, who has advantag'd himself of 'em so often, has no where taken the pains to establish them. But I answer, in the first place, that tho'

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it were so, I shou'd still have left Possession of above twelve hundred years, which, in good Law, equal at least a new Title. And in the second, I maintain, that *Procopius* his silence cannot turn to my disadvantage, since it is contradicted by the contrary use of the same Author, following the Maxime of Philosophers who give force to the Negative Argument only, when there is nothing opposite in the same Place, from whence it is drawn. And I observe in the third, that a Man cannot be well grounded, to draw an Inference of that Nature, from *Procopius* his Books of *Ανέκδοτα*, because this Work has not been preserv'd absolutely entire, as is easie to judge, by the Passages cited in *Suidas* and *Evagrius* that are not now a days found in any of our Editions, or Manuscripts. Which wou'd give me always occasi

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on to pretend that *Procopius* might have spoken in the Fragments which we want, of what People will needs have him to have forgotten and omitted.

But, after all, tho' I shou'd be depriv'd of *Procopius* his Authority, I shou'd still have a reason left, which ought, in my Opinion, to pass for Fundamental, in the matter now in hand; namely, That notwithstanding the Writer of *Ambrosia* is no less oblig'd, than the Historian, to tell the Truth, yet he is not oblig'd to tell it in the same manner; for the Historian is not properly bound to tell it, but when the Transactions he relates are so true, as that they are probable; and *Guichiardin* will be ever blamed for having related * the Case of two Rival Brothers, th' one of whom having known that

* In the Fifth
Book of his Hi-
story.

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th' other was better belov'd, because he had finer Eyes, tore them out from him; and sent them in a Box to his Mistrefs. There shou'd he have stopt, and not have added, that these same Eyes were remitted in their place, by so delicate a hand, that they recover'd th' use of sight.

Yet am I not of their Opinion, who think this single Instance sufficient to make *Guichardin's* Process, and Convict him not only of Falsehood, but likewise of manifest Error against common Sense. I am willing to suppose, with the Adorers of this Historian, that the two Persons, of whom he speaks, were sufficiently Eminent in *Italy*, to be known, and that the Place of the Blindness and of the Cure, which they are minded to maintain, was not so remote from *Florence*, but that a Man might be inform'd of it in a short time, and with-

out

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our difficulty. What I now find fault with is, that so Tragical and Capricious an Event, tho' it may be true, was not probable, at least in its utmost particularity, which ought to be omitted, or related with the due Precautions, for the persuading the Reader, that there was no design to impose on his Credulity.

On the contrary, the Writer of *Artaxerxes* has, for Object, Truth in all its Extent; he considers it equally, either that it be probable, or not probable; and the same *Procopius* who had taken such pains to be believ'd, when he relates, * in his History, that

* In the first
Book of the Go-
thick War.

one single *Isaurian* Cavalier had put to rout a whole Army of the *Goths*, the self same *Procopius* says, I use neither Precaution nor Preamble in my *Artaxerxes*, when the thing in hand is to describe the strange Po-

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Stories of the Emperour Justinian in the Night time.

After his Example shall I take the freedom to examine all the Symptoms of the Great *Cosmo de Medicis* his sickness, and endeavour to sift by what accidents of Fatigue or of Debauchery, that Princes Body lost the three Functions of the Mind, one after th' other, during the three last years of his Life, and was deprived by a successive alteration of his Organs, first of Reason, then of Motion and of Sentiment, and at last of Life.

But if the Writer of *Alexander* has on this side, more Liberty than the Historian, he has it not on another which wou'd be much more material to him: for he cannot propose to himself or Interest or Glory, for the end of his enterprize, and the Field he cultivates is to him so useless, that

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it produces him only Thorns and Briars: He runs a risque of losing all, instead of profiting; and the same Conastagio, who had been promis'd ten thousand Crowns, besides an ample Pension for Life, for writing the History of the re-union of *Portugal* to the Crown of *Castile*, was threatened with Bastinadoes, as soon as it came to be known, that he elsewhere than at the *Spanish* Ambassadors House at *Genoua*, sought after Memoirs for writing the late Revolutions of the Low-Countries.

He would not so much as dare to hope to raise his Name from Oblivion, by causing others to revive: and in the Most Christian King's Library, have I read several Manuscripts, which Infallibly will be never Printed, because they draw the Picture a little too much to the Life, of some Illustrious Persons, in whom History

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ry has not hitherto found any Defects, or at least was not willing to find any.

He can neither make his Wit nor his Eloquence glitter nor sparkle, by reason those sorts of Truths that fall within his Sphere, ought necessarily to appear stark naked, and I do not think there hardly can be found in Antiquity, a more careless stile, in that kind of Writing, than is that of *Procopius*.

In fine, he obliges neither the Age, whose Errors he recounts, nor that wherein he lives. Those who ought to gain most by his Instructions, are those who are most provok'd in reading them; and if the State of *Venice* had not offer'd an Azylum to the unfortunate *Boccolini*, there wou'd not have been any safety for him in the Old or New World, so dreadful was then the Pow'r of those, whose

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whose hatred he had
incurr'd * by his ** Pietra del Para-
gone Politico.*
Touch-stone.

I launch out much farther, and assert, that there is hardly any Paradox in the *Stoick* Philosophy, but what, by a contrary sense, is verified in the Destiny of a Writer of *Aristotle*; he searches after Truth with an indefatigable Care, but ever pursues he it unprofitably, he thinks to attain to Felicity, by attaining to Truth, and yet bears off and distances himself from his own Happiness gradually, as he approaches Truth; he Combats for it with a world of Pains and Trouble, and yet he never Triumphs after having Vanquish'd. In short, he is the Slave of Truth, as *Epicletus* was of Virtue, he must cherish it for its own sake, and never complain of the Mischiefs it makes him suffer, provided he is Soother'd and Cocker'd with the hopes of possessing it.

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Excellent Painters are there, who make Pourtraicts according to all the Rules of Art; and yet those Pourtraicts are not altogether resembling they add ever something to the Faces they represent; and tho' they do not omit any of the Features or Lineaments, they so raise and set off the Air and Colouring, that they are found much handsomer on the Cloth, than they are in th' Original. I do not think there ever to have been any Historian, that has entirely avoided this Defect: and this hinders me from calling it a Fault. And I cou'd quote an infinite number of Ancient and Modern Examples; but I'll reduce my self to that of *Leo* the 10th, as sharing in my Subject.

Three Celebrated Historians are there, who have employ'd all the Strength and Delicacy of their Style,
to

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to express that Popes Genius to the Life; namely, *Paulus Jovius*, *Guicciardin*, and *Padre Paolo Sarpi*, of the Order of the *Servi*. Yet they go so different a way to work, that the three principal Heroes of *Italy* are not more different among themselves in Manners and Conduct, than *Leo the 10th* is from himself, in the Writings of those three Authors.

Paulus Jovius makes him pass for a Man Arrogant and Stately, and ever endeavouring to carry things with a high hand. To him does he impute the same Warlike Humour that possess'd *Giulio the 2d*, his Predecessour. He made him conceive, ev'n before his Exaltation, a disdainful Contempt of all the rest of the Sacred Colledge, founded upon an imaginary precedence of the House of *Medici* o're other the Families

In his Book and in his particular Eulogy of Leo the 10th.

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milies of *Italy*; he causes that Contempt to intervene in all the signal Actions, and ev'n in the most august Ceremonies; he takes him for the Source and Foundation of the obstinate War against the Duke of *Urbino*, and of other the Quarrels that arose in the Pontificate; in a word, he will needs have that Vanity; but a haughty shocking Vanity was his predominant Inclination.

If you are concern'd to know how *Paulus Jovius* has penetrated so far into *Leo's* Bosom, to pronounce of him so decisive a Judgment, he himself obviates your question, by declaring that he was that Pope's Creature, that this Holiness caus'd him to lay aside the Profession of Physick, and the pretension of a Chair at *Padova*, to ingage himself in an Ecclesiastical state, made him Bishop of *Cosmo*, chose him to be his Confident,

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dent, and to assist at the Councils, wherein the most important, and most secret Resolutions were taken, engag'd him to write the History of his time, interpos'd in his behalf in France and in Spain, that he might have Communicated to him th' Authentick Pieces, he might think needful for the Perfection of his Work; and laid himself wholly open to him, in frequent and familiar Conversation. Wou'd not a Man say, to hear him talk in this manner, that he has made the true Pourtraict of Leo the Tenth.

Nevertheless, Guichardin, who wrote upon the same subject, at the same time, has made one directly contrary. He gives us this Pope for a finish'd Model of Modern Policy, and for the greatest Cabinet-Man of his Age; he places him above King Ferdinand

In the 12 Art. of his History.

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Ferdinand the Catholick, and makes him Triumph, in his Youth, over that old Usurpers Stratagems: To him it is he attributes the secret of making the Council of *Spain*, willy-nilly, back and further all his Designs.

After having laid down these wonderful Principles, no glittering Virtues are there, but what set off *Leo* the 10th's Picture. He frames from ten years old, when first made Cardinal, those vast Projects he since executed, when exalted to *St. Peter's* Chair. He negotiates with the States of *Venice*, for the saving and retrieving the Wrecks of his House, that had run a ground on the Fortune of *Charles* the 8th. He does not alter his Resolution, by having seen his Brother perish at the Passage of a River. He has no other thoughts than for the advancement of th^e only Son

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Son that Brother left in the Cradle,
and thereupon he returns to *Rome*,
where his Intrigues give him access to
Pope *Giulio* the Second's Favour, and
procure him to be Elected Legate in
the Army design'd to drive the
French out of *Italy*; he is taken Prisoner
at the Battel of *Ravenna*, but he
makes his escape in a Conjunction
fatal for himself, since that *Giulio*
was newly expired: He enters the
Conclave, where he so improves the
young Cardinals Caprice, they ha-
ving whirl'd their Heads with a De-
sign of making a Pope of their own
Age, that he works their Suffrages to
turn in favour of himself. He joins
with the *Spaniards*, and husbands
their Friendship, as long as it is of
use to him, for the re-instating his
House in the principal Functions of
the Magistracy of *Florence*; but as
soon as Fortune turns her back upon
em,

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em, and that he finds their Council not of a humour to suffer that he usurp the Dutchy of *Urbino*, therewith to invest his Nephew; he treats with the *French* on that Condition, draws up the famous Concordate, wherein he Fools and Baffles the Wiles and long Experience of Chancellour *du Prat*; he Caresses *Francis* the First, as long as that King is in a Condition to do him good; but he has no sooner rookt and wheadled him out of all he aim'd at, but that he gives him the slip, to reconcile himself with *Charles* the Fifth. He projects with this Emperour, for the re-establishing the *Sforza's* in the Dutchy of *Milan*. He succeeds sooner than he expected, and receives such tydings that so transported him with joy, as occasion'd his Death.

Now this is *Guichiardin's Leo* the 10th, a Piece not in the least resembling

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sembling that of *Paulus Jovius*. Yet it's past all doubt, that he was at least as well inform'd; for he came of a Family entirely devoted to that of *Medici*; he was almost of the same Age with *Leo*, he had been Educated with him, he had accompany'd him in good and bad Fortune, he had manag'd the most subtile Intrigues of his Exaltation, he had receiv'd extraordinary Honours and Benefices from him, then, by his Order, did he return to *Florence*, where he completed the Downfall of the popular Faction, and manag'd the Dispositions of his Country-men, with so much Address, that this Pope, by his means, Commanded nine years in that City, in spite of its Liberty. His Holiness had call'd him thence to honour him with an Office, wherein he was oblig'd to confide in him the most important of his secrets, by

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by making him Commissary General of the Armies of the League against the *French*, which he officiated at the very time of that Pope's dying.

After this, can *Guichiardin* be reproach'd, with having wanted sufficient Instructions? And shall we not find other Historians in the last Century, much inferior to him in this point, far from being in any wise to be compar'd to him? Yet *Padre Paolo*, who has labour'd at *Leo* the 10th's Pourtraict, after *Paulus Jovius* and *Guichiardin*, has imitated neither of their Stroaks and Lineaments; he represents him as a Voluptuous Person, that pamper'd himself with the enjoyment of all the Sweetnesses of the Popedom, and waved all its Bitternesses, that troubled his head with no knotty nor difficult Affairs, referr'd to Subaltern Ministers those

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those which demanded Time and Application, enrich'd his Relations and Servants, not out of kindness, but that he might be the better serv'd, and the more Caress'd; made an incurable Wound in the Church, by the Concordate with *Francis* the First, and impoverish'd *St. Peter's* Patrimony by his Profusions; Ravish'd his Country of its freedom, out of a Caprice, and minded not to restore it, when, after his Brother and Nephew's death, departing this Life without Male Children, there was no one of his Family capable of gaining by the Mischiefs he had done; made a Present to his Sister of the Money, which the Piety of the *Germans* had design'd for the waging War upon the Infidels, committed the distribution of Indulgences in the *Dutchy of Upper Saxony*, to the most avaricious of his Courtiers, neglected the Heresie of *Luther* in its beginning,

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ginning, and did not set about stopping the Gangrene, till when it was become incurable; had too Libertine Sentiments of Religion, and troubled his head little about another Life.

I dare not speak my mind of the Resemblance of this Picture, but yet I know that *Padre Paolo* wrote after the Relations of Ambassadors, which the State of *Venice* sent to the Court of *Rome*, in the time of *Leo's* Popedom, and that those Relations are commonly very exact, and very true, as we have newly seen, by that of *Correro*, tho' ev'n Cardinal *Pallavicino's* History, who has undertaken to refute that of *Padre Paolo*, and says nothing against what respects *Leo's* Person, were not a tacit Approbation of what I have newly noted.

What will then the Writer of *Arzobispo* do, such as I may be? He will take
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the Pencil after *Paulus Jovius*, *Guichiardin*, and *Padre Paolo*, but he will use neither their Colours nor Ideas. His manner will be wholly new, and whereas others had painted Pope *Leo* in his Habit of Ceremony, he will represent him in his Undress. He will slip in among ten or twelve of the Polite and Topping Wits, who commonly assisted at his Private Recreations, and at his Couzening himself into a sleep, and will take him in his gay Humour, wherein he was, for Example, when he flusht them the Design of the
* fine Grammar, and of
some other such like
Pieces, which have not
perhaps been sufficiently valu'd, either
in their own Age, or in ours, considering
the delicacy of their Invention. He will
go and seek him in a *Vasari*, but the *Va-*
sari of the first Edition: For what

* It was Printed in Germany,
in the Collection of
Ornarius.

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I am going to say, has been retrench'd from the others. He will go and seek him, I say, when he sometimes delighted in thwarting, and at others in condescending to *Michael Angelo's* capricious humour, when he wou'd see, against his will, his Work before it was finish'd, and that he expos'd his Person to the being crush'd under a Scaffold, which *Michael* caus'd to fall upon him out of spite; whereupon this Painter having betaken himself to his Heels, and not daring to return, he was forc'd to make him Ambassador of the State of *Florence*, for the re-incouraging him by that inviolable Character, and that at the first Audience he gave him in that Quality, in a Gallery where the Pope receiv'd him with his Cane in hand, *Angelo's* Fear redoub'd, but needlessly, because *Leo's* Anger and Cudgelling were discharg'd.

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charg'd upon a Chamberlain, who would needs shew himself impertinently Arrogant in so odd a Conversation.

In fine, the Writer of *Asiatica* will make Extracts out of the excellent Letters, of the Cardinals *Bembo*, and *Sadolet*, and those of *Peter Martyr*, and *Silvius Antonianus*.

Hence he will borrow Secrets, that have escap'd the knowledge of the most exact Historians, and from all those Irradiations together, he frames a Character of *Leo the 10th*, which if it be not as beautiful as the foregoing, will be, at least, as Curious.

But thanks to his Most Christian Majesty's Library; I am not reduc'd to be contented with a small matter; and I have found Memoirs still more Ample, and more Authentick Instructions. Well known it is, that

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the first Sovereigns of the House of *Medici*, could not so well conceal their principal Adventures, nor under the Ashes so well cover the flames of their Amours, and the smoak of their Ambition, but that there has flown thence some sparks, ev'n to this side the *Alpes*: They never acted without Witnesses, and tho' they had used all the Precautions imaginable to delude Posterity, the intestine War that has sometimes been kindled in their Family, has hardly left us Strangers to the least of their Intrigues.

Strozzi's there have been, who have taken refuge in *France*; and as their Mother was the nighest Heiress of *Leo* the 10th, their Father, the best Friend of *Clement* the 7th; and that they had themselves been concern'd in most of the Revolutions that happen'd under *Cosmo* the Great, they have

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have Collected such particular Memoirs, that the World has reason to exult for their exactness.

Not but that these Memoirs ought to be in some wise suspected, and that they ev'n bear, in several passages, the Impressions of the Hatred, Spight, Jealousie, and Revenge, wherewith, it cannot be deny'd, but that the Authors were possessed. But 'tis on this score that I have distrusted them, and that I have never believ'd them in the least Circumstance upon their bare words. I have ever confronted them with their Adversaries answers, and have only allow'd them so far Credence, as it has not appear'd to me that those answers were sufficient. In a word, I assert nothing, without having examin'd the Contradictions, and whosoever shall take the pains to read the Works of *Leri*, *Adiani*, and *Manuce*, thro' the most famous Panegyrist

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negyrist of *Cosmo* the Great, who will find therein wherewithal to justify me on that point.

Now if I have the advantage of the Illustrations, which one of the two Parties gives me, to the disadvantage of the other; if I have weigh'd the divers Interests and different Motives, if I have compar'd them with the Circumstances, and if groping along, and walking warily, I have endeavour'd to attain to the knowledge of secret Transactions, by the means of those with which I was unacquainted, I have done in this but what is daily done by Judges, when they are about pronouncing upon the Life, or the Reputation of the accused, whose Crimes are not sufficiently averr'd.

And indeed an Anecdoto-grapher, has hardly any other secret, by the report of * him, who

* *Is the Sophist*
Marcellinus.

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who has left us in writing the Life of *Thucydides*, to set to Rights the confus'd Memoirs he has Collected, than by examining diligently the matters they agreed upon, and to make use of them afterwards, as Principles for the judging of the truth of others, of which they do not jump in an accord. But tho' he does not appeal to Historians, what Authorities soever they may have, nay, tho' he makes profession of writing almost ever Transactions, or at least Particularities that were unknown to Historians; yet he does not meddle with reproving them, or loading them with Invectives; or as *Thimeus* did, who palliates them instead of blackening them. He wou'd dissemble their Faults, if he cou'd do it without betraying his own Knowledge; and when that truth, which, following *Tertullian's* expression, is the most imperious

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imperious of Virtues, forces him to bring them into Light, he never does it without extenuating them, or excusing himself before hand, for what he is going to do. He knows that there is nothing that scapes so soon, nor so easily as that truth, that he who first taught us that it was in the bottom of a Well, might be suspected of having bury'd it there all his Life, and that the proneness and flooping of Corrupted Nature to falsehood, is no less slippery than that it has to Love.

In the Second Book of his Library. The reason which obliges him to take this Course, is drawn from *Diodorus Siculus*, who maintains, that as there are feeble *Geniusses* that are tempted to do Mischief, as soon as they know the manner of committing it, there are likewise strong ones, with whom it's sufficient to represent Vice

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Vice in its most lively Colours, to divert them from it. 'Tis for Minds of this last stamp that a Writer of *Arts* labours, as the Historian, for those of the first. They both tend to the same end, tho' they take opposite Paths: and the Chymist, who gives Antimony to drink, after having Corrected its Malignity, obliges the Publick no less, than he who composes a Medicine of the most innocent Simples.

The Judgment is form'd and fashion'd as well by the Contemplation of Evil, as of Good; and if Morality was depriv'd of this sort of Instructions, it wou'd be in a worse Condition, than the young Greek Gentlemen, that went to *Thebes*, to *Ismenias* his House, to learn to play upon the Flute, because that great Personage, after having shew'd them the secret of Mouthing it, made them hear

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hear a Man that plaid very sorrily, that he might make them know the defects of his Art, at the same time he gave them its Precepts.

Quintilian took the same Course with the

In the 5th Chapter of the Second Book.

Roman Knights and Senators Children, who came to his House to learn Rhetorick; for he as often led them to hear the bad Declamers as the good. He made them observe the Vices of the Harangues which the Vulgar most admired, the improper Words, the obscure ways of speaking, the Fustian, Sordid, and Effeminate Stiles, and those which shock Chaste Ears.

Arrianus are the Mirrors which do not flatter, and the same *Diodorus*, who shrifts after their Origine with the utmost exactness, remarks, that *Egypt* enjoy'd a very long

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long and most profound Tranquility, as long as they were in use in that Kingdom; for as soon as the King was dead, his Body was exposed in the midst of the publick place, where every one had the freedom to praise him as much as he deserv'd, and to upbraid him with all the evil actions he had committed, they put into the Scales the Complaints and Acclamations, and if his Vices were found to have over-ballanc'd his Virtues, his Memory was detested, and his Body refus'd the honour of Burial. His Successor made his advantage of an Example he had been Eyewitness to, and Govern'd the State with all the Justice necessary, for the having nothing to fear from the publick Odium after his Death.

Certainly it wou'd not be a little Contributing, to the Felicity of Ages to come, as to make him see things af-

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ter the same manner they were in ours, or in that of our Fore-fathers, without thereto adding any thing, diminishing or changing. Those who have escap'd, through good Luck or Cunning, the Punishments they had merited, wou'd not scape the Infamy; and those, whom their Example might attract into the like Crimes, wou'd accustom themselves betimes to have, for Posterity, some sort of Fear mingled with Respect. They wou'd dread the Judgment of their Nephews, and fall to doing such actions as wou'd challenge Approbation. They wou'd be afraid, as well as *Cicero*, of what wou'd be said of them six hundred years after; they wou'd, like him, beseech Modern Authors not to treat them ill in their Writings; and for the giving them occasion of doing it, without prejudice of Truth, they wou'd put in-

to

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to their hands sincere Acts and authentic Instructions.

There has been found People sensible to the stroak of a Pen, though they were not so, or to the remorse of Conscience, or the severity of the Laws; and a Prince was seen in the beginning of the last Century, who, not being to be diverted from committing an Incest with his own Daughter, by all the Maximes of the Christian Religion, was efficaciously so, by the Reflexion he was wrought to make, that the thing could not be so well conceal'd, but that it wou'd be known by Posterity.

Not but that, ever and anon, there has been found Men generous enough, as not to be influenc'd to disguise the Truth, either by the quality of the Presents that were made them, or by fear of the Punishments, wherewith they were threatened. But yet there

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there has been so few of them, principally in the two last Ages, that I have been able but to find out a pair, whose Example it will not be perhaps amiss to relate in this place, for the rarity of the matter.

Never was there a King that was more concern'd, for what wou'd be said of him, after his Death, than the last *Alfonso*, that wore the Crown of *Naples*. He not only labour'd at winning of Battels, and doing those sorts of actions which savour of the Romance, but he was likewise solicitous to find out Pens worthy of writing them, and capable of embellishing them. Not one famous one was there, but he endeavour'd to gain or corrupt, and all such as were in Repute, receiv'd from him Pensions or Presents, in whatever Country of *Europe*, Birth, or Fortune had confin'd them; yet never was there

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yet never was there a Monarch whose Infirmities have been better particulariz'd than his. We are not strangers to the least of his Frailties, and what avails it to read in *Pontanus*, *Panormus*, *Benedicti*, and in sixty four other Historians, that he possess'd all the Noble qualities that form Heroes. No body believes 'em, and the World is rather inclin'd to give Credit to *Bernardino Cerico*, who attributes to him only very common Affections, tho' this *Cerico* is otherwise a very piteous Historian.

Castruccio Castracani, on the contrary, has been defamed by thirty celebrated Historians of *Italy*, ten of whom are of *Florence*. He has been reproach'd with all the excesses whereof Tyranny is capable, when above the reach of Fear: And *Machiavel* has writ a piece on purpose, in so terse, maligne a stile, that he turns
d into

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into Ridicule, all the actions he cannot blame. Yet has he not been believ'd no more than his Country-men; and though *Nicolas Tegrinus*, who made at the same time that Great Captain's Apology was inferiour to *Machiavel*, in all the other parts that make up a perfect Historian: Nevertheless People have judg'd *Tegrinus* to be the sincerest of the two. They have approv'd the Contradictions he puts in his Preface, for the undeceiving those who had been prepossess'd to the Prejudice of Truth; and 'tis now allow'd on all hands, that neither the Testimony of *Machiavel*, nor that of the other *Florentines*, is receiveable in what relates to *Castracani*, as being suspected of designing to revenge their Countrey, at least with the Pen, for the Affronts, which it had receiv'd from a General of an Ar-

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my, who had been its most formidable Enemy, though they were convinc'd, that this General had no other failures, than what proceeded from his living in a Conjunction, wherein it was not possible to exercise Military Virtues, by lawful means.

But as the two Events which I have newly related, are perhaps those only, wherein rigorous Justice has been done to oppressed Truth, ever since History was written, it is not to be expected, but by a due course of proceeding. The shelve is to be avoided, which commonly wrecks those who do not fancy, that too much exactness can be used, in detecting the most secret matters. You must remember, that though a Writer of *Annals* is more often, and more strictly bound to speak the Truth, than an Historian, yet he is

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not so in all occasions ; to speak without exception, on the contrary, he ought to suppress it all along, where it is not possible to reveal it, without acting against good Manners.

Town that *Procopius* has fail'd against this Principle, and I am too sincere not to abandon him in this point. I do not undertake either to excuse him, or defend him ; and should go my self astray, as well as deviate my Readers, if I follow'd his steps. I take it kindly of that

*Th. Germin
Dedict.*

Man's Modesty, who, casting his *Avanture* to be Printed has retrench'd such Passages, wherein the Infamies of the Empress *Theodora*, when she assisted at the Public Divertisements, were too lively represented. I wish this Vacuum may be never fill'd, and that those who are able to do it, may have neither the Will nor the Leisure

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I have little less Aversion
on for the Impudence of
Petrus Candidus December,
who wrote, two hundred years ago,
the Lives of the Dukes of *Milan*, and
People wou'd have been well enough
satisfy'd, without knowing why *Filippo Visconti* caus'd the young Gen-
tlemen of *Milan* to play at Tennis so
often in his presence.

The art of the most Infamous Pro-
stitution, ought not to be learnt in
History, and the Laws of Decency well de-
serve to be as scrupulously kept in the
one, as in th' other. Dangerous
thoughts ought not to be imprinted
in Peoples Minds, under the Cant of
rendering to them Vice the more abo-
minable, nor fill 'em with shameful
Ideas, when the business is to ani-
mate them to the pursuit of Glory,
by laying before them the most emi-
nent Virtues.

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Neither ought it to be suffer'd in
^{Articulate} or in History, that in pub-
lick there appear things, as would
not be heard without a Horrour, in
a well regulated Conversation, and if
the Ordures that are read in the Old
Romances, are not wanting to produce
pernicious effects, though we are
forewarn'd of their false-hoods, what
will not those do, which the memo-
ry shall endeavour to retain, because
they are true.

Never was there any Republick,
that has giv'n a Right to private Per-
sons, over anothers Reputation, and
but has punish'd those who went to
disturb'd the Dead in their very
Graves. The Morals of the Fathers,
and Councils will have us hold him
for an honest Man, who had the re-
pute of so being, at the Moment
he ceas'd living, when that there is
no evident proofs to the contrary;
and

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and 'tis principally for this last Consideration, that I shall draw the Curtain over the Amours of *Cosmo de Medici* with *Camilla Martelli*, and over those of Duke *Francisco* his Son with *Bianca Capello*. I shall leave the principal Circumstances of them, in the Memoirs wherein I have seen them, and shall only thence cull those that have so peculiar a Connexion, with the most notable Events of those two Princes Lives, that for want of having chosen them, neither *Manuce*, nor *Civi*, nor th' other Historians are intelligible, in the passages of their great Volumes which are ferreted with too much Curiosity. But its too long stopping the Reader at the entrance of this, I must introduce him within doors, and render him Judge, whether I have put well in practise the Speculations, where-with I have been entertaining him,

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
BOOKS.

The First Book.

THE great Riches of Cosmo de Medici, Surnam'd, the Old, acquir'd by Traffick, rend'ring him suspected to the Florentines, four of the most Illustrious Families Conspire against him, and got him clapt into Prison. The Design is laid to Poyson him, but he avails himself of the Goalers Irresolution, and of a Boufoons Address, by whose means he gains the Gonsalioniere, who nicks his time, and dexterously sets him again at Liberty. He withdraws to Venice, from whence he contrives

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trives his return to Florence, and causes his Enemies to be banish'd. He ends his Life in quiet, and leaves but one Son, call'd Piero, of small Sence, but a sequestred Health. The Pitti's Conspire to assassinate him, and lay their Measures competently well; but he escapes 'em through a Caprice that happily came into his mind. Their Conspiracy is discover'd, they are banish'd. The Venetians support them. They invade Tuscany with an Army, but the design of surprizing Pisa being ill concerted, makes them lose th' occasion of entering Florence, and of taking the advantage of Piero de Medici's death, occasion'd by the Gout.

The Contents of the Second Book.

Lorenzo de Medici rallies his Fathers Friends, and restores the Affairs of his Family. He goes and joins the Florentine Army with fresh Troops, and is present at the Battel, wherein Field-pieces are first put in use, and where the Servants; one both sides with Flambeaus, light their Masters, while a Fighting. Federigo d'Urbino wins one of Cogllone's Quarters. The Republick of Venice abandons the Pitti's, and the Marquess of Mantoua reconciles them with the State of Florence. The Volterrans Revolt. Lorenzo de Medici causes the Siege of the Town to be rais'd, and pardons

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pardons them, after having constrain'd 'em to surrender at discretion. He demands of the Pope & Cardinals Cap, for his Brother Giuliano, but is refus'd. He takes his Revenge, by causing the Army of the Church to moulder away before Tiverno, and by hindring the Pope's Nephew from acquiring the Sovereignty of Im-mola, from whence is fram'd the Pazzi's Con-spiracy. Giuliano de Medici is therein kill'd, and Lorenzo escapes. All the Accomplices are punish'd, and the Archbishop of Pisa is truss'd up at a Window of the Palace, in his Pontifi-cal Vestments. Bandini only gets into Turkey. But Sultan Bajazet delivers him to Lorenzo de Medici's Factors.

The Contents of the Third Book.

Commissioner Nardi concludes a League be-tween the Pope and the King of Naples, against the Florentines. Lorenzo de Medici sustains the War; but seeing himself abandon'd by his Allies, takes a bold Resolution. He causes the choice of the young Florentine Nobility to follow him, under the Pretence of a Hunting Match. Goes aboard a Gally. Bears away directly for Naples. Amazes King Fer-rand, by this Heroick Act of Trust. Breaks all the Measures of Resalli the Ambassadour. By new ways disconcerts the Practices of that

Old

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Old Minister. Ruines him in the Kings good Opinion. Enstates himself in his room. Enclines the King to all he aims at. Makes him break his League with the Pope. Procures Peace to the Florentines. Causes their Towns to be restor'd them, and a Treaty of Guaranty to be sign'd with them. Two years after, the King of Naples is almost oppress'd by his Nobles Conspiring with the Pope, and the Venetians, who meant to spare his State. Lorenzo de Medici succours him without staying to be desir'd to do't. Lends him Money. Debauches the Troops that had overcome him. Causes the Orsini's to declare for him, and restores him to all Intents. After which, all his Thoughts tend only to maintain Peace in Italy,

The Contents of the Fourth Book.

THE famous Astrologer Leoni, the Topping Physician of all Italy, comes to Carrego, to prescribe to Lorenzo de Medici, during his Sickness. Is mistaken as well in his Predictions, in quality of Astrologer, as in his Prescriptions, in quality of Physician. The Patient dies through his Fault; and Piero de Medici, out of rage, throws him into a Well, wherein he is drown'd, as was Prognosticated, by the Calculation of his own Nativity. The Eulogy of the Wits, that were Friends, or receiv'd

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receiv'd Gratifications from Lorenzo de Medici, Aretin thinking there to be no other Manuscripts than his, of Procopius his History, burns it, and has it Printed in his own Name, but his Larceny is discover'd. December prostitutes the Reputation of the Duke of Milan, who sets him to write his History. The Academics of Rome take a fancy to travesty their Name in Greek. The Pope imagines it a cover to a Conspiracy they had contriv'd against him. He causes 'em to be secur'd, and some of 'em put upon the Rack. Platina is of this number. The Cardinals of the Conclave go to Bessarion's Cell, to make him Pope. His Conclavist, Perrotti, sends 'em away for fear of diverting his Master from his Studies. They take pet, and abuse another. Politianus dies of a transport of Love. The Prince of Mirandola writes against Astrologers. They meet, Calculate his Nativity, and send him word, he will dye, as young as he is, before his Work is finish'd. Their Prediction is fulfill'd.

The Contents of the Fifth Book.

THE Calamities of the House of Medici proceeded from the same Lodovico Storza, who ruin'd that of Naples, and his own. A curious Recital of Piero de Medici's Imprudences, that are found mingl'd with the Artifices

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Artifices of his Enemies. He flies away from Florence. He is upon the point of being restor'd by a French Intrigue, who foster designs of supplanting Cardinal Brissonnnet. He is sought after, but not found. The true Causes of Savonarola's Advancement and Downfall. The Ursini's labour in vain to re-establish the Medici's, and reveal to them Valentino's design of delivering them up to the Florentines. Valentin finding by whom his Design was detected, kills the Ursini's at the Feast of Senegaglia, which plunges Piero de Medici into a Despondency. He sides with France, and is drown'd at the Mouth of the Garigliano. His Brother, the Cardinal, withdraws to Rome, where he sharps it until his Legation. The secret Circumstances of his taking at the Battel of Ravenna, and of his escape. Soderini's Brother's Covetousness, gives him occasion to bribe the Officers of the Spanish Army, which restores him in Florence. He has Machiavel there put to the Rack, then receives him into favour; but Machiavel broods his Revenge, and not finding th' occasion, procures his own Death, by a Doze unseasonably taken.

The Contents of the Sixth Book.

ERASMUS th' Astrologer, and Ficino th' Philosopher, Prognosticate that Cardinal Medici

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Medici should be Pope, tho' not any appearance of it then. He is carried to Rome in a Litter, by reason of an Imposthume he had in a place, that Modesty forbids mentioning. He enters the Conclave. The Imposthume breaks and exhales such a stink, that th' Old Cardinals fancy'd, upon the Relation of brib'd Physicians, that he will suddenly dye, and so leave off crossing his Election. A Dream of his Mother, which he remembers of himself, makes him take the Name of Leo. He repairs his Cousin Giulio's defect of Birth, and gives him his Cap. Massimiliano Sforza falls distracted, and puts it into Leo's Head, to make his Brother Giuliano Duke of Milan; but is deluded by Fre-gossa, who accomodates himself with the French. Giuliano dies, young Lorenzo succeeds him, and does not resemble him. The French pass the Alps. The Pope's afraid, and sends them an Agent, who falls into the hands of the Spaniards, and makes 'em jealous. The Pope stops the Progresses of the Conquerours, by his interview with Francis the First, at Bologna, where he paulmes upon the sincerity of that Prince. He despoils the Duke of Urbin, who recovers his State. The Pope Debauches that Duke's principal Officers, he prevents them, and causes their Souldiers to punish them. Leo, tho' indebted for the Popedom to Cardinal Petrucci, drives his House out of Sienna. The Cardinal Conspires against

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against him, is discover'd and strangled in a Dungeon, by an *Aethiopian*. A strange Conference of Cardinal Cornetan with a Magician, who tells him nothing but the Truth, and yet deludes him. The Sacred Colledge is animated against the Pope, who, out of spight, creates one and thirty Cardinals in one day; but the greatest Enemy of his House happens to be of the number. He frames a League against the French, and, beyond all hopes, drives them out of Italy; but in the very moment he receives the Tydings, Malespina poysons him with Pills. The Rats eat off his Nose the Night following, by having but one Servant left with him, who falls asleep.

The Contents of the Seventh Book.

Eulogies of the Wits that were honour'd with Leo's Friendship, or receiv'd Gratuities from him. Which is the best writ History we have since those of the Ancients. The Astrologer Tibertus foresees his own Death, and the most extraordinary manner, by which it was to happen, without its being in his Pow'r to avoid it. Cocles, of the same Profession, has the same Destiny, and yet not mistaken in any of the Nativities he had Calculated of his Friends, no, not ev'n in those that were to happen after his Death. Young Strozza ventures to Marry a Miss, kept by the Duke of Ferrara. His Master has him Assassinated. Crimittus dies

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dies of a Shivering, occasion'd by a Pail of Water thrown upon him by one of his Scholars, out of mere jeast. Cardinal Bibiana, being above thirty years older than the Pope, takes measures with Francis the First at Paris, to procure his being Elected Pope, at the first Conclave at Rome. The Pope is inform'd of the Design, stays him to Dinner, and presents him with a Bit. Bibiana fancies it to be poyson'd, and yet dares not dispense himself from swallowing it. He returns home, and takes a Counter-poyson, which does not hinder him from breathing his last three hours after. Pompono Gauric vanishes in his travelling along the Po, and is never more heard of, thro' the Revenge of a Lady, to whom he had presented a Declaration of Love in Verse. Count Baltazar Castiglione, in his Practice, contradicts the Rules he had laid down for a perfect Courtier. He is assur'd that he will dye at Mantoua. He carefully avoids going thither, but accepts of the Embassy of Spain, not dreaming that Madrid is call'd Mantoua in Latin. There he dies.

THE

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

IT is a surprizing thing, that none of the Authors who have written the History of *Florence*, have kept themselves within the bounds of Moderation, when they speak of the House of *Medicis*, before it was raised to the Sovereignty. Those whom either Jealousie or Ill-will have animated against that Family, have endeavoured to give it an Original so low, and little answerable to its present Greatness, that it were more advantageous

not to be known at all, than after such a manner. Others thought flattery justifiable, in a Subject, which those that wrote before them had handled so Satyrically, and have represented the Condition of Old *Cosmo de Medici* his Ancestors so far above his fellow Citizens, that we should hardly believe they had ever lived as Private Men, if we were not informed so from other Hands.

Some there were, towards the middle of the last Age, who to make their Court the better with *Katharine of Medicis*, would have perswaded her she was of *French* Extraction both by Father and Mother, and that not above three hundred years before, one *Julian* of *Medicis* went out of *Poitou* into *Tuscany*, with a Troop of Horse, which he carried into the Service of the Commonwealth of *Florence*.

For my own part, as I have no other design, than to collect those Truths which other Histories have either purposely, or out of Ignorance omitted, I cannot chuse but say, that the House of *Medicis* has always been accounted Noble, since *Florence* purchased its freedom of the Emperour *Rodolphus the First*; of which their Profession of Merchandize, wherewith they are reproached, is a Proof, since all the *Florentine* Historians agree, that almost all the Gentlemen of that Country

The House of Medici.

Country were engaged in Commerce, and that the most considerable Families had Factors in the best Towns of Europe.

It was by these means that *Cosmo de Medici*, surnam'd the *Old*, came to be much richer than any Prince in *Italy* of his time; for though some suppose that the famous *Balthazar Cossa*, who was deposed from the Popedom, discovered to him at his Death where he had hid his Treasure; this good luck might perhaps lay the Foundation of his Fortune, but did not raise it to that height, to which it arrived ten years after, when there was no part of the World, from *Persia* to *Andaluzia*, that was not subservient to his Traffick.

The difference of Religions hindred him not from treating with Infidels; and the constant correspondence he kept with the *Turkish* Emperours then regnant, caused those Princes to let his Factors settle themselves in the room of those of *Genoa*, and *Venice*, whom for Reasons of State they expelled out of the most trading places of *Thrace*, and the lesser *Asia*. The *Emirs* of *Babylon*, and the *Mamelukes* of *Egypt* facilitated his Transportation of the Silks and most precious Commodities of the *Mogols* Countrey, and he made so good a hand of the needy Condition to which the *Paleologi*, Emperours of *Con-*

Constantinople, were reduced, that they sold him the best part of the Jewels, and splendid Furniture, the remainders of the Luxury of the *Justinians*, and *Porphyrogeniti*, at very low rates. In a word, he arrived at that Wealth, and Power, that his Countrey-men, though used to the same immoderate gain, grew Jealous of his Greatness.

The Government of *Florence* at that time was Popular in appearance; but so temper'd, that the Ancient Families, which were the *Strozzi*, *Peruzzi*, *Barbadori*, and *Albizzi*, bore the principal sway. They were not indeed very well united among themselves, but yet agreed in their obedience to him that was eldest among them, and perform'd his Commands with as much Zeal as if he had been their Sovereign. Hence it came, that their Head found it so easie to engage them in the ruine of *Cosmo de Medici*. After they had resolved themselves to destroy him, they assembled the People on the sudden, and told them, *Cosmo* was the sole author of the misery to which the Republick of *Florence* was then brought; that it was he who kept Men at work at *Lyons*, and *Antwerp*, upon those Manufactures which *France*, *Spain*, and *England* were wont to send for out of *Tuscany*, and who by consequence, under pretence of selling better pennyworths, took

the

the Bread out of his fellow Citizens Mouths, to enrich Strangers; that there was not a Merchant in *Florence*, let his credit be never so good, whom he did not ruine, by advancing of prodigious Sums before-hand to those that had occasion, and by his crafty buying up of the finest Silks, and best Spices upon the place, and Transporting them at less charge, which made him more considerably a gainer, though he sold at cheaper rates; his Factors affording their Goods for less by one Third then others, which brought them in so much Custom, that all other Warehouses besides their own were shut up.

There needed no more then thus to touch upon the Peoples weak side, who were extraordinary covetous, to stir them up against *Cosmo de Medici*; he was presently order'd to be arrested, and clapt up in Prison, where he was carefully guarded to prevent his escape. His Enemies stopp'd here, because they had not at first plotted to do him any further mischief, imagining, that by keeping him from acting, they should sufficiently interrupt his Commerce, and establish their own. But when they considered, that no *Euripus* was more subject to ebb and flow than the inconstant humour of the *Florentines*, who never continued a week in the same mind, nor were likely to do otherwise now, and that

in all events, their chief Magistrate, whom they call *Gonsalvener*, changing every two Months, it might very well come to pass, that the Peoples Votes might fall upon some Friend of *Cosmus*, who would be sure to set him at Liberty. Upon these and the like reflexions, the Prisoners Death was resolved on, and the fittest means to effect it long sought for.

Some of the Assembly proposed to try him before the People; and undertook to find out Crimes, and Witnesses sufficient to take away his Life. But others, who were more numerous, thought that way of Proceeding would be too tedious; and that while they were about it, some Disturbance or other would infallibly happen in the Town, which would be a Means to let him out of Prison. They resolved therefore to dispatch him as soon as possible; and because Poyson was the secretest Means, that was approved of. In order to this, *Radolph Peruzzi*, the Head of that Family, and the most Considerable of *Cosmus* his Enemies, was imployed to visit and tamper with *Frederick Malavolti*, the Keeper of the Publick Prisons, and to engage him not to let *Cosmus* have any Meat brought him, but what they should send him. *Malavolti*, in plain terms, was a Man indifferent, neither Good nor

Bad

Bad; and being neither *Cosmus* his Friend, nor his Enemy, seemed not to decline an Opportunity of making his Fortune, provided it might be so contrived, that he might have more Profit to hope for, than Danger to fear. *Perruzzi* sounded him a good while before he open'd the Business, which he thought not fit to do, till he saw him disposed to receive it calmly. But in doing this, he committed a Fault, which Novices in such Intrigues are very subject to; he spoiled the Business, by betraying too much eagerness to have it succeed. He offer'd *Malavolti* so considerable a Sum of Money at first dash, that, though it were not extravagant in respect of the vast Riches of *Cosmo's* Enemies, yet it easily suggested to him whom it was offer'd to, that what they asked of him was of mighty importance, since they were so very liberal to obtain it. Upon these grounds he answered *Perruzzi* in such Terms, as though they were something doubtful, yet made him guess, if he were not gained the first time, the second or third Onset at most would make sure of him. *Perruzzi* satisfied to have advanced so far, gave the rest of the Conspirators an account of what he had done. But while they were thus preparing the Money and the Poyson, *Cosmus* himself was strangely di-

sturbed in his Thoughts. He was of a penetrating Wit, as usually all the *Florentines* are; and the perfect knowledge he had of the Genius and Temper of his Enemies, made him quickly apprehend they would practise upon his Life the very same way on which they had pitch'd. Upon this Supposition he had not eaten one bit of what had been dress'd for him in four days; which long Abstinence so weakned him, who was otherwise of a good strong Constitution, that *Malaualti*, who visited him from time to time, was afraid he would starve himself, and so make him lose the Money which was offer'd him. To prevent this, he went into *Cosmo's* Chamber, whither he caused his Supper to be brought, tasted the Meat before him, and with a chearful Countenance invited him to take part. After they had eaten, they had some Discourse, in which *Cosmo* failed not to insinuate to his Host, That though his Enemies were possess'd of his Estate, yet he had Treasure still conceal'd in *Florence*, enough to enrich any man who durst set him at liberty. These Words made so much the more Impression on *Malaualti*, because he was not ignorant of the common Report, That his Prisoner, for fear of appearing too rich in a Popular Government, had not yet taken all the ready Money out of the Ground, which

Balthasar

Salvator Cossa discover'd to him at his death. And as weak Minds are always persuaded by those who set upon them last, *Malavolti* was easily convinc'd, there was more to be got by *Cosmo* of *Medici*, than by *Perruzzi*. For this Reason he made it his Business now to cheer up his Prisoner; and *Cosmo*, in Complement to him, told him, he could the rather wish to be rid of his Melancholy, that he might likewise contribute something of his side to their Entertainment. *Malavolti* replied, he would soon cure him if he pleas'd, by bringing *Farganaccio* to dine with him next day, whose Company was so diverting, that it was impossible to be weary of it. This *Farganaccio* was a Fellow of very mean Birth, but the pleasantness of his Conversation had gain'd him a Familiarity with the best Citizens of *Florence*. He always made one in Designs of Mirth and Pleasure; and though he was of an Humour in some things passionate enough, yet he was for the most part so supple and complaisant, that he never made any Quarrel. He Mimickt all sorts of People admirably well; and his Raillery, which he made use of upon all Occasions, never carried him so far as to speak ill of any body. However, this Talent did not gain him that Esteem with People of Quality which he seem'd to deserve, because he was

quite another Man when he kept company with those of his own Rank: for then he gave himself all manner of Liberty, and would be drunk with them several days together; which rendred him contemptible to the Best of the Citizens, those especially who had Power in the Election of Magistrates, in whose opinion he pass'd for a Buffoon, that without great indiscretion was not to be trusted with any thing of Moment. *Cosmus* of *Medicis*, who knew him better, thought otherwise of him, distinguishing him from those Gluttonous Bruits, who are so meerly to gratifie their Appetite, whereas he only indulged himself sometimes, to banish troublesome and afflicting thoughts; and as such, looked upon him not unfit to be employ'd in so hazardous an Affair; and therefore told *Malavolti*, he should be glad to be diverted by him next day at noon. *Fargnaccio* came, and was as facetious as what he could invent, or had learnt of that kind, cou'd make him: *Cosmo* seem'd not to be at all moved with it at first, but by degrees gave way, and was so taken with him at last, that *Malavolti* before he went his ways immediately after Dinner, to dispatch away some Letters in his Closet, and not judging it Civility to leave his Prisoner so soon alone, told him, that he begg'd his Pardon, because he was going to leave him for

for a quarter of an hour, but that in recompense, he left him with *Farganaccio*, whose gay and jocund humour would afford him a much better entertainment. This wholly complying with *Cosmo's* desires, he thanked him for his Courtesie, and as soon as he was gone, accosting *Farganaccio*, he caress'd him, and let him know, that it was in his power to be his Deliverer, and assur'd him, that he should want neither Money nor Jewels, if he would undertake a Work both so just and glorious.

Farganaccio would at first have Complimented off the Business, waving it with excuses of its not lying in his power, but *Cosmo de Medici* let him see, that he knew him much better than he imagined. He discoursed him upon the secret Alliance he long had had with *Bernardo Guadagni*, who was at that time Grand *Gonsaloniere*, that is to say, the Sovereign Magistrate of *Florence*. He added, that as *Guadagni* had already been a Month elected, and that by Consequence he had but one Month more to be in his Office, there was no time to be lost for the saving an honest Man; that his Innocence was so obvious, that his very Enemies were perswaded of it, and that all his pretended Crimes were summ'd up in his having by lawful means rendred himself the richest Subject in *Italy*.

After-

Afterwards he fell to exaggerating the malice of those who designed his Ruine, he ran over the means they had of bringing it to pass, and without affording *Farganaccio* the leisure of making any answer, he concluded his Discourse with slipping into his Hand half a Ring, in order to his carrying it to the Prior of the *Jacobins*, who would no sooner see it, but he would give him a hundred Crowns of Gold, which he besought him to accept for the first Present; and a thousand others, which he desired him to present to *Guadagni* on his behalf.

I cannot say which most pleased *Farganaccio*, the Liberality of *Cosmo de Medici*, or the extream confidence he put in him; but this I know, that either the one or other of those two Qualities stagger'd him so much, that he had alread pouched the half Ring, and swore secrecie and fidelity to his new Benefactor, when that *Malavolti* came in to 'em again, and obliged them by his presence to behave 'emselves after a less serious manner.

They stay'd not long together, and *Farganaccio* took his leave of 'em as soon as he could, under colour of a meeting he had appointed for the Evening, but in effect, to return unto his own House, and there concert what he had to do. He examined all the

Motives

Motives capable of tying him to keep or divert him from his Word with *Cosmo*; But the fine, the hopes of becoming Rich, made him fully resolve upon sticking to his Promise. The next Morning at break of Day, he went to the Monastery of the *Jacobins*, where he saw the Prior, and leading him insensibly into a by-place, he shew'd him the half Ring, and instantly received the Sum that had been promised him, and that which was to be presented to *Guadagni*. Then he march'd directly to the *Gonsaloni*'s Palace, and tho the Porter let him know the Lord was still asleep, yet he went into his Chamber, a long familiarity having acquired him that Priviledge. He waited till *Guadagni* was awake, and the first thing he did after having Goodmorrow'd him, was shewing over before his Face the Charming Crowns of Gold which he brought. *Guadagni* surpriz'd at this novelty, asked him, who had made him so Rich; and *Farganaccio* reparteed, that he was only his Treasurer. And thereupon, putting on his Gravity, he told the *Gonsaloni* his Days before adventure, without the least Disguise. He was allow'd a more favourable hearing than he expected: For though *Guadagni* was none of *Cosmo*'s Friends, yet neither was he his Enemy, and as he had never had any difference with him, he

he wou'd entering into the League that was formed for his Ruine.

This Consideration joined to the Influence of *Fargnaccio*, and the glory of freeing out of danger an innocent Person of *Cosmo Medici's* Merit, who was capable of acknowledging most magnificently the Services that were done him, made him accept the thousand Crowns, and engag'd him by consequence to set all Hands at work for his Deliverance. He wisely foresaw, that in case he gave the least time to the Prisoner's Adversaries, they would perswade *Malavolti* to poyson him; and that if *Malavolti* persisted to fence off the Undertaking, they had sufficient Credit in *Florence* to raise a dangerous Sedition, by engaging all the *Mobile* of their Dependency to take Arms, and by leading 'em directly to the Prisons; which it would be easie for them to force, and there massacre *Cosmo*, after the Magistrate could use any Prevention. Wherefore this Stroke was to be parry'd off by a subtle Counter-Stratagem. He pretended to lend an Ear to those that sollicit'd him to declare himself against *Cosmo Medici*, and perswaded 'em so cunningly that he was as keen as they upon this Prisoner, that they fancy'd, they had drawn him into their Enterprize.

Of this an Account was given in their Assembly.

Assembly, where *Malavolti's* Irresolutions being ballanc'd with the new Face the Affair took, by *Guadagni's* pretended Declaration, they chang'd the Resolution of poisoning *Cosmo*, and renew'd that which had been rejected, of ruining him by Form of Law. *Guadagni* desiring nothing more than he having reduc'd them to this Point, took upon him to favour 'em in all that should depend on the Magistracy. The Enditement was drawn up by the Subalternate Judges, and carried afterwards to the Council of Eight, where Matters of State are examined. *Cosmo de Medici* was there accus'd of having plotted against the Liberty of his Country; long Hearings were given to the *Délateurs* and Evidences: the Witnesses deposed, and were confronted; and in few days the Affair was in that posture, as cast *Cosmo* into a strange uncertainty of his Life, notwithstanding that his Conscience reproach'd him not in the least, and from time to time he receiv'd from *Farganaccio* secret Advices of his having nothing to fear. *Guadagni* hast'ned the Proceedings as much as possibly he could, and *Cosmo de Medici* his Enemies contributed thereunto with all their might, as being prepossess'd with an Opinion, that it was their Interest so to do. Nevertheless, in this they were deluded, and

Guadagni

Guido the more cleverly bubbled the Credulity: for having adjusted his intrigues in the Council of Eight, and secur'd a number of Suffrages sufficient to exempt the Defendant from Death, he caus'd the Process to be summ'd up two days sooner than was expected by the Enemies of *Cosmo*, and he himself pronounc'd a Sentence which deserves the being warily examined, seeing it has no Circumstances but what are very Curious.

He had judiciously foreseen, that in case the Prisoner was absolved, he would be almost in as great danger as if he had been condemn'd to Death, because his Enemies were daily making Parties to assassinate him, and this was the Reason which hindred him from declaring him Innocent. Neither was he ignorant, that it was the making him run the same hazard, to impose upon him any other sort of Punishment than that of Exile, by reason of the Power of his Adversaries throughout all the Territory of *Florence*, and this it was that bias'd him for Banishment. He was convinc'd, that if he waited for the Day appointed for the Sentence, *Cosmo's* Enemies would appear there with an Equipage capable of doing Violence to the Magistrates, and so have executed with their own Hands what should have

have been wanting to the Rigour of the Sentence; and this made him anticipate it. In fine, He knew, that at least without going himself, with all the Officers of Justice, to free *Cosmo de Medici* out of Prison, and conduct him to the very Territories of another Sovereign, those who aimed at his Life would be soon enough on Horseback to snap or kid-nap him upon the Ways; and this made him put that express Clause in the Sentence, under pretext that *Cosmo de Medici* his Friends were sufficiently powerful to rescue him from the Rigour of Justice. Thus he Ordain'd, That *Cosmo* should be forthwith banish'd for ever from the City and State of *Florence*; and that the Magistrate should go incessantly and fetch him out of Prison, and conduct him till the full Execution of the Sentence.

This was accordingly executed with that Dispatch, as startled the most vigilant of *Cosmo* his Friends, and his very Enemies too. The Prisoner knew nothing of the Sentence, but by the signification that was made to him thereof, though he had scouting abroad a great number of trusty Spies; and the Keeper *Malavolti*, was much amaz'd to see he was robb'd of his Prisoner, and depriv'd at the same time of all the advantages he might have reap'd from a longer Custody.

dy. But *Cosmo de Medici*, his Enemies fell into an extream Consternation, when they learnt all at a clap, that he had been try'd, put out of Prison, and conducted to the Frontiers.

This News, breaking all their Measures, made such an operation in their Minds, as was extreamly propitious to their Enemy: For they left off pursuing him until they had antw consulted among themselves in what manner to prosecute their aims; and this little Truce gave *Cosmo de Medici* time to draw from *Florence*, and the Parts adjacent, the better part of the Effects he had there lying conceal'd.

All their fury was bent against *Guadagni*, and his Posterity still smarts at this day, for the Losses they made him suffer, tho' *Caterina de Medici*, being become Queen of *France*, transplanted it into that Kingdom, and it lately Commanded the Armies of the *French* Monarch in *Africa*. They ruin'd his Commerce, they discredit him among Strangers, and with the very same People that adored him afore, they so perplex'd his Magistracy, that it was more burdensome to him than useful, and their rage proceeded so far, as to endeavour the exciting a Sedition, in order to the deposing him before the expiration of the time appointed for his remaining *Gonsaloniere*. But

the thought of this only whirl'd the youngest Heads among the Faction, it was not approved by the old Blades, and they left *Guadagni* to finish out the Month ordained by the Laws.

However for all this, he came not off at a cheaper rate; for no sooner was he re-entered into a private Condition, than that he fell under the Prosecution of the Law. He was summon'd to give a severe account of his Administration; his most innocent Actions were rendred Criminal, and he compell'd to undergo the same Punishment he had impos'd on *Cosmo de Medici*. Some probability there is, that they would have push'd on farther their Attacks, if those who demanded his Life, had not found two invincible Obstacles to their Design; the one from the Relations *Guadagni* had on his side, who upheld him too powerfully with the new *Gonfaloniers*, and the other from the Nobility, who did not consent but with regret to the Exile of their ancient Magistrate, and declared openly, that if any thing more was expected from them, they wou'd take up Arms, and disunite themselves from the Commons. *Guadagni* being expell'd his Country, retired to *Cosmo de Medici* at *Venice*, where they both joyntly endeavour'd to procure their Re-establish-

ment. This was not so difficult a matter for either of them to compass in a juncture, when their Interests were joyned, as if they had been separated, because the mutual Friends they had at *Florence*, having had the leisure to know, and put an entire Confidence in each other, took more fitting measures for that purpose, and caus'd Letters in Cypher to be delivered, ever and anon to the Exiles, by which they gave 'em to understand, that they needed only prescribe to them the Method that was to be followed in the pursuit of their Repeal.

Guadagni, Whose humour was more sincere, but more impatient too than that of *Cosmo de Medici*, wou'd have had it gone about immediately, and that by the wonted ways. But *Cosmo de Medici*, who better understood the *Genius* of the *Florentines*, to be brought over, and the obstinacy of the Persons that made Head against 'em, was of Opinion to take a much longer Circuit. He propos'd that his Friends should assemble with those of *Guadagni*, that they should pitch upon the Person of 'em all most proper to mannage the Affair in hand, and adjust their Intrigues for the chusing a *Gasaloniere*, and then start and fall to urge the Repeal. This Expedient was at length

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judg'd the most healing by *Guadagni* himself, who gave way, and writ in Consequence to those of his Faction. They appointed the Rendezvous to *Cosmo de Medicis* his Friends in the Monastery *de la Reparata*. They agreed upon the necessity of procuring a Supreme Magistrate to be chosen that was of their own Body. They Examined in order the fittest Persons for that Dignity, and concluded at last upon the Person of *Nicolo Cocco*, a Friend of *Guadagni's*. They Cabal'd for the Suffrages the two ensuing Months in his favour; and as he was equally belov'd by the Nobility and the People, they found no great trouble in obtaining them. Not but that *Cosmo de Medicis* his Enemies did oppose the Election; when he was put into Nomination; but they perceived it so late, that they had not the leisure either to Concert among themselves, or put in practice the Artifices necessary to elude it.

Thus was *Cocco* Elected *Gonfaloniere*, and did not frustrate the hopes which the Exiles had conceived of his Fidelity. By little and little, he accustomed the *Florentines* to hear them named in Publick Assemblies, and in good part to hear them mentioned. Then tell he to offer things in their justification, and succeeded immediately in what regard-

ed the Person of *Guadagni*: For as *Farguaccio* had acted his part so cunningly, that the World had not had the least suspicion of his Intrigue, those very Persons who had most contributed to *Guadagni's* Banishment, did not reckon him culpable of ought else, than the being hurry'd on by an excess of Zeal to free out of Prison a Man he thought Innocent; besides that, they were perswaded, that by slackning in the Person of *Guadagni*, they should be the less suspected of Envy and Partiality, when they should come to struggle against the Repeal of *Cosmo de Medici*, which was to them of much other Importance.

But an accident they had not foreseen surprized in this point the Delicacy of their Reasoning: For in a short time after *Guadagni's* return to *Florence*, *Cosmo de Medici*, who try'd all possible ways for his being recall'd, bethought himself to settle in *Venice* the Center and Staple of his Commerce, and there have the Manufacture wrought, which were afore so done by his Orders in the City and Territory of *Florence*. From hence ensu'd two notable Inconveniences to the *Florentines*; the one, that as there are Connexions and Dependancies in point of Traffick, which are only well known by those that meddle the way,

way, the Commerce of *Cosmo de Medici* coming to change its Principal Place, made a Cessation to that of the Principal Merchants of *Florence*, or at least weakned it in such manner, that these publick Complaints were daily heard to ring, *Que Personne ne gaignoit plus rien, That Trading's now quite Dead.* The other Inconvenience was, that the common People losing the certain occasion of dayly getting Money by working the Manufactory, and not finding any body that employ'd 'em in other Works, there was all of a sudden such a strange Revolution made in Peoples Minds, that the recalling of *Cosmo de Medici* was wish'd for by all the Corporations which composed the Republick, with so much eagerness, that his Enemies durst not traverse it any longer.

Thus *Cocco* had nought else to do, than to put this Repeal into Deliberation, and cast up the Suffrages of those who were to ordain it. *Cosmo de Medici* thank'd the Senate of *Venice* for the Protection they had afforded him, and return'd to *Florence* with Acclamations that already distinguish'd him from private Persons.. He received Visits from all the Orders, and honest *Malavolti* fail'd not to crowd in with those who went to Congratulate his Return. *Cosmo* received him with very particular Caresses, and *Ma-*

Malavolti, whether he expected some reward, or out of an itch usual in Old Men, he would derive a vanity from what he had wav'd doing, he chanc'd to bolt out to *Cosmo de Medici*, that he was more oblig'd to him than he imagin'd. *Cosmo* not understanding the ambiguous sense of these Words; answered him very civilly, that he was sensible he had favour'd him with all imaginable Obligations,; and *Malavolti* reply'd with some emotion, but you do not think you are indebted to me for your Life. *Cosmo* then perceived that *Malavolti* had a grudging to inform him of a thing to which he was till then a stranger, but as he was not in a place fitting to receive an Illustration of this nature, he pretended not to have smelt out any thing new, and rested satisfied with telling *Malavolti*, that he knew himself eternally his Debtor. Then he turn'd to other Persons of Quality, who came to Complement him on the occasion, and there the Conversation fell. But as soon as *Cosmo de Medici* had got rid of his Visits, he went to pay a private one to *Malavolti*, when putting him again on the Discourse, which he said they had been constrain'd to interrupt, by reason of there being too many Witnesses, he put him so many Questions, and led him through so many

turning

turnings and mazes of pumping, that the honest Man, after having spent all his put offs and shiftings, was at length reduc'd to confess, that *Perruzzi* had been several times to sollicite him, and had offer'd him a considerable sum to dispose him not to give his Prisoner any other Food than what he should cause to be prepared for him. Upon this Information *Cosmo de Medici* made his Addresses and Complaints to the *Gonsalviere*, upon which an Order was issued out for the taking *Perruzzi* into Custody.

The *Barrigel* of *Florence* seized the Person of *Perruzzi*, who out-fac'd the Examination, but not his Confrontation with *Malavolti*. He own'd the Fact, and then seeing they were going to put him upon the Rack, he discover'd all the secret of the Conspiracy against *Cosmo de Medici*. *Nicolo Albizzi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, were taken up upon his Deposition, being the Heads of three Illustrious Families of the same Name. The Council of Eight try'd the Cause, and it was past all Question, that the Suffrages of the Judges were leaning to Death, when that *Cosmo de Medici* making a serious Reflexion upon his own Interests, resolv'd and perceiv'd, that if he persever'd to have the Death of so many Persons of Quality, he should incur an immortal hatred, and would
make

make so many his Enemies, that it would be impossible for him to live at Florence thence-forward without Guards, which could not be granted him in a Republic without Magistracy, which however he had proposed to himself never to accept: Whereas if he contented himself with causing 'em to be punish'd in a perpetual Banishment, on the one side he delivered himself from the only Persons from whom he need to fear a second staggering of his Fortune, and on the other, he did not push any of his Enemies into despair. On the contrary, he reconcil'd himself with those who had Souls so Noble, as to be touch'd with an Heroick Act of Gallantry.

This it was which made him take new measures with his Friends, and sollicite for those whose Ruine he had vow'd. The Judges willingly acquiesced in the Request he made 'em, there being very little of any other bodies Interests than his own in this Affair, and besides, they did not without Reluctance go about to make so great an Example in a Popular State. Thus the Criminals came off with a perpetual Exile, after they had been made sensible they would not have been treated with so much Clemency, if they had not found in the Heart of him they had offended Sentiment

ments contrary to the severity of the Laws.

Cosmo de Medici having rid himself of his Enemies under so plausible a Pretext, had hardly ought else to do, than to reap the Fruit which his Fortune had produc'd him. All those who pretended to the Magistracy were not satisfied with Courting his Friendship, they affected such a Dependancy on his Will, that there was now nothing done of moment without having consulted *Cosmo*. The House he caused to be built, not very Stately indeed, but very Spacious and Convenient, was the secret Place where the Resolutions were brooded, that were afterwards to be hatcht in the Council of Eight; and here it was that they concluded to humble the Pride of the *Pistoians*, who had made an Insurrection, with a general Destruction of their Houses, and they examined a way to reduce by mildness the *Pisans*, who afterwards fell into the same fault, that they might balk the Neighbouring Potentates of a Pretext to intervene and meddle in those Matters.

Yet this was done with so little Noise and Pomp, that the People of *Florence*, tho' extraordinary Jealous of their Freedom, did not conceive any Umbrage upon these Motions,

tions, because that *Cosmo de Medici* was become more circumspect by his own Experience, and lived after a manner as was nothing different from that of mean Citizens. He had openly declared that he would not aspire to any Magistracy, nor would he accept any in case it was offer'd him, and he held so firm upon this Article, that after having himself quash'd divers Cabals in his Favour, he obtained there should be no more talk of him in Elections. However he failed not to appear, and act efficaciously in Publick Assemblies, but it was ever after a disinterested manner of appearance, and only to support Merit when it was known, or for the manifesting it when it was not. Otherwise he was seen to walk alone, and on foot in the Streets. His Cloaths were plain, and so modest his Table, that there were no other Provisions spent than what his Country House of *Mugello* furnish'd. He had not one useless Domestick, or what served for State and Ornament; each had his several Employment, and medled not with what others did.

It did not appear that *Cosmo de Medici* had any other Application than Merchandize, and as he had admirable success, and he was still introducing some *Florentine*

by turns into the Society of his Trade and Gain, the more he got, the more was he blessed in the Town; so far were they from entertaining any jealousy on that account, tho' his Gains were great and frequent: For he perhaps was the only man to whom all those who have traded with him have given this Testimony, that in so long a Life as was his, and during fifty four years of continual traffick in all sorts of things, in all the noted Marts of the known World, he had ever had the happiness of never suffering any loss, and of never losing any opportunity of gaining.

Not but that he expended much, and even more than was suitable to a private Person in the Alms he distributed, and in the Edifices of Piety which he caused to be built: But the People, as I have already observed, were so prepossessed with the thought that it was only with the Money of *Balthasar Cosca*, and for the Executing the secret Orders which that degraded Pope had left him, that what matter tho' they saw him found Hospitals, re-establish Monasteries desolated by the Faction of the *Guelphs*, and build new ones, they commended *Cosmo de Medici* his Piety, and did not penetrate farther into the bottom of his heart. He liv'd at this rate unto an extreme old Age, without suffering any inconveniences, and dyed in the Arms

Arms of his Friends. He was enterred in the Church of *St. Lorenzo* which he himself had built, where the Publick erected him a kind of *Mausoleum*, in the Frontispiece of which there was written in *Latin*, *Cosmus Medicis situs est decreto publico Pater Patriæ*. By order of the Common-wealth, here lies *Cosmo de Medici*, surnamed the Father of his Country.

He left a Son called *Piero*, who had but one of his Father's good qualities, namely that of husbanding his Estate. He had neither the Will to acquire any, nor a Soul capable of Publick Affairs. It was too much wound up in it self, and in his Domestic Matters, as if Nature had given it no vast Extent. Not that any thing had been neglected as might serve to enlarge it, and make it take a much higher flight: For the famous *Poggio* having charg'd himself with his Education, had given him the Precepts of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, he had endeavour'd to render him a Philosopher, but seeing his understanding was not capable of serious matters, he humbled the Majesty of his stile, even to the Composing Books of Stories at leisure hours.

He did not stick to mingle therein, an infinite number of unbeseeming circumstances, as knowing very well this to be the last

ret for the dissipating the numness and stu-
pation of his Scholar. Nevertheless *Pie-*
re de Medici continu'd still in his Primitive
dullness. He had only comprehended things
of his own reach, and tho' he wanted neither
Curiosity nor Application to the most sub-
lime, he never cou'd attain 'em. In a word,
he seem'd only to be born for the renewing in
his time and Commonwealth the example of
old *Cato's* Son, whom the *Romans* made use
of, to shew the great difference there was com-
monly between Great Men and the Chil-
dren they left behind 'em. And indeed *Pie-*
re de Medici not only wanted the Virtues of
his Father, but besides he had neither his
Father's good Meen nor vigour of Body. The
Gout which had begun to torment him at fif-
teen years of age, had almost robb'd him of
the use of hands and feet, and reduc'd him
to budge no otherwise from home, than
by being carry'd in a Litter to *Mugel-*

His Father had plainly foreseen that these
natural infirmities would undermine all the
Foundations of the greatness of his Fami-
ly, and fell about remedying them by all
the ways his Policy could suggest: For at
home he had acquired Friends in all the
Orders of the Republick, and had engag'd
those Friends to maintain him by an enter-
course

course of Interests, which could neither be more close, or more necessary. He had Cull'd out some among 'em to serve him for Counsel, and others he appointed for the Execution of what should be undertaken most nice or bold, according to the Diversity of their Genius and Profession. Abroad he had made alliance with two of the greatest Potentates that were then in *Italy*, namely *Fernand of Arragon*, King of *Naples*, and *Galeazzo Sforza* Duke of *Milan*. And as it was certain, that *Italy* in general had nothing to fear, as long as those two Princes should act in unanimity and Conjunction, it was no less indubitable, that the State of *Florence* in particular would not suffer any alteration, as long as they would maintain by their Authority the Government that was there established.

Yet notwithstanding all these Precautions *Cosmo de Medici* had no sooner his Eyes close, but there arose in *Florence* against his Son a Faction more formidable without Comparison, than had been that of *Petruzzi*. It is not well known who began it, but the *Pazzi's* were one of the most Illustrious Houses of *Florence*, and the most knowing knew not of any more Ancient; they only yielded in Riches to that of *Medici*, and the Jealousie they had of it, proceeded from the

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lating that sort of Goods which Chance, Industry, or Wariness bring, they exceeded in all those which come from Birth and Vertue. They were three Brothers, and seven Cousin-Germans of the same Name, who had all mingl'd the Profession of Arms with the Study of Polite Learning: And as the Works in Verse and Prose, which still remain of their Composure, are authentick Proofs of the Beauty of their *Genii*; the History of the Civil War, that ruff'd the Kingdom of *Naples* under *Ferrand the Old*, gives so advantageous an Account of their Valour, that there's no room for wonder, that they could not without some uneasiness endure to be preferr'd before 'em in the Administration of Publick Affairs, such a Man as *Piero de Medici*, whose Father perk'd up onely out of the Order of bare Gentlemen, that was almost the onely one of his Name, and who had not for his own part neither a Wit strong enough to give Counsels to the Republick, nor Feet in a condition to go where the Service of his Country might call him, nor Arms vigorous enough to defend it against its Enemies.

This was what made the *Pitti's* proceed from the Aversion of the *Medici*, and the Contempt of *Piero's* Person, to the Design of dispatching him out of the World. It

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was

was impossible to bring this about by any other way than that of Assassination; and the Measures to that purpose were nick'd for the time he should return from his Country-House, whither he had caus'd himself to be carried, for the enjoying the Delights of the Fair Season, whose use was not obstructed by his Infirmities. His House at Florence was situated at the bottom of the Town near a Gate, which was seiz'd on by the Conspirators, there to do the Feat. Afterwards they were to have put *Piero de Medici's* Head upon the top of a Pike, to carry it along the Streets, and cry *Liberty*; to assemble those of their Faction, and lead 'em directly to the Town-house, convening the People, and causing the Magistrates to be deposed, and others put in their room, who should banish all those of the House of *Medici* that were suspected by them, and would give them the Confiscation of the Riches they had scrap'd together.

Spies were sent to scout abroad, to discover the Hour and Day of *Piero de Medici's* Return; and to a Minute was it known. The Russians took their Post, and *Piero* who was in a Litter, followed onely by two of his Servants, was going to stumble into their Hands, when out of a meer Whim, or secret Foreknowledge of the Danger that threaten'd

threatned him, the fancy took him, before he went to his own Home, to call in at the House of a Friend of his, *Lanti* by name, who dwelt just at the Top, that is, at the other end of the City, without other Design however, than to surprise him with an unexpected Visit, and with him that away some Hours. Wherefore, thither he went, and found *Lanti*, who would needs make him stay and sup with him, and sent him away so well accompanied, because it was Night, that there was now no means of doing any Insult upon him.

The Assassins, who expected him out of the Gates of the Town, near his own House, under colour of Breathing and Exercising their Horses, seeing the Night come, abandon'd their Posts, and return'd into the City, slipping under the Avenues of *Piero de Medici's* House: But as there were several, and that by consequence they must divide themselves to keep 'em, *Piero de Medice* returning home, found onely three or four Armed Men, that knew him well enough, but let him pass without saying any thing to him, because they saw him in too good a Posture to be attack'd. They took their Companions from their several Stations of Sentinel, and withdrew to the Rendezvous, where it was resolv'd, that they should in-

stantly return into *Romagna*, from whence the *Pitti's* had sent for 'em, except one of their Company, whom they left at *Florence*, to receive the Money that had been promis'd 'em. There was a long Contest upon this Payment, because the Deputy of the *Russians* pretended to receive the full Sum which his Accomplices had agreed upon for the committing the Murder; and his Reason was, That it was none of their fault, that it was not done; that they had done their endeavour to execute it; that they had ran the risque of being taken; and that as the fault lay wholly at the *Pitti's* door, that had not rightly laid their Plot, it was not just that those who had not contributed anything to their Fault, should have the less Reward. The *Pitti's*, on the contrary, maintain'd, That the Blow not having miss'd by any Cowardise or Negligence, which they could be reproach'd with, but through a meer Caprice of Fortune, that had robb'd 'em of the Victim just upon the point it was to have been sacrific'd, they could onely be tax'd half the Sum they had promised. They offer'd however to pay it all, nay, to consign it into a third Hand, in case they would engage the Performance of the Attempt at some other time. The Deputy reply'd, That his Companions did not refuse re-engaging

the same Design; but to that end another Treaty was to be made, to which he had no Orders to give ear, until they had been fully satisfied touching the former. The Conversation hereupon fermented; but as the Match was not equal, the Deputy, being a cunning Fellow, fear'd lest the *Pitti's*, whose Power he knew in *Florence*, might have him clapp'd up, and perhaps procure something worse to befall him, to deliver themselves at one bout from his Importunities.

And indeed he had engag'd himself in a very ticklish Business; but he had the Address to get out of it. He pretended to grow more tractable by degrees, and to espouse the *Pitti's* Sentiments: He onely demanded of 'em time to confer Notes with his Companions, for the disposing 'em to a new Project. The *Pitti's* let him go with so much the more ease, as that they were persuaded, that in a few days he would be glad to come back with his Companions, to earn the Money he then refused. But instead of going out of Town, he went directly to the House of a Man of his Acquaintance, who frequented *Piero de Medici*, and desir'd him to go tell him, That if he would obtain his Pardon, and give him the Recompence which the Republick had decreed to those who should discover Conspiracies

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against

against the State, he would reveal to him one of great Importance, and wherein his Person was concern'd.

Piero de Medici thought this Offer was not to be slighted, because he was already well informed, that there had appear'd the day before in his Quarters a considerable number of Armed Horsemen, besides having himself seen his House invested. He assembled his Friends, who advised him to grant still more than was ask'd him. The Remission was dispatch'd in secret to the Russian Deputy, who received beforehand the Sum ordain'd for *Delatores*. They let him take all the Precautions that the Diffidence natural to those sort of Wretches inspir'd him with, and then were informed of all the Circumstances of the *Pitti's* Project, who were seized, and confronted. They endeavour'd to egg on the Magistrates to the utmost Rigour against 'em; but the fear lest their Punishment might excite a Sedition among the Common People, who adore them, prevailed over the Quality of their Crime, and over the Solllicitations of all the *Florentines* wedded to the Interests of the House of *Medici*. Nothing availed their remonstrating to the Magistrates by studied Speeches, That this was not the first of Crimes the *Pitti's* had attempted, and that they had

long

long since meditated one of the most enormous, which was to plot against the Liberty of their Country; That there needed no other Proof of this, than the House they had built in the most eminent Part of the Town, since it had rather the Figure of a Regular Fortrefs, than a Retreat for bare Citizens. This onely produc'd a Decree, That the House should be razed, and its Inhabitants banish'd for ever out of the State of *Florence*, without hopes of their Posterities ever returning thither. This Sentence, thus moderated, wrought the Effect which commonly attends things of this nature; I mean, it inflam'd the Malady, whereas it ought to have cured it. It gall'd the *Pitti's* in the most sensible Part, which was that of Honour, to blast them for having conspired against their Country, and yet onely imposed on them the slightest of Punishments, which so Criminal an Attempt did deserve. It expell'd 'em from their House, and constrain'd 'em to lead thenceforward a Vagabond-Life, and yet did not retrench 'em of any of the Conveniencies they had of returning thither by Force of Arms. In a word, it unchain'd the Lions, and let loose the Wild Boars, without having disarm'd 'em of their Paws, their Tusshes and Defences.

Thus the Magistrature of *Florence* was

not long before they perceiv'd the Blunder wherein their false Clemency had engag'd it: But it was now too late to be remedied for the *Pitti's* having caused all their Effects to be transported to *Venice*, retired thither with a numerous Train of all the Orders of *Florence*, that would not abandon them in their Disgrace. They were joyned upon the way by the *Peruzzi*, the *Barbadori*, the *Strozzi*, the *Albizzi*, and others whom the Conspiracy fram'd against *Cosmo de Medici* had plung'd and abandoned into the like Misfortune. So many Illustrious Unfortunates together, compos'd such a Troop as was not to be slighted, because it had been augmented by the most Valiant Men of *Tuscany*, upon a Rumour which the *Pitti's* had cunningly caus'd to be whisper'd about, That they were not punish'd so much for their own Crimes, as for that of their Fathers. 'Twas well known in *Italy*, that their Ancestors had ever favour'd in private the Party of the *Guelphs*, though the *Florentine* State had openly declared for that of the *Gibellins*. And as there was none in *Tuscany* that durst put themselves at the Head of that Faction, since the last Wound *Castracani* had given it, those that were of it had not any fix'd abode, but spent their Life in the continual Exercise of Arms and Robbery, that they might be

in the better Posture to defend it against the *Gibellins*, who without mercy stripp'd 'em of all when they fell into their Hands.

These People had no sooner notice of the *Pitti's* Exile, but they became perswaded, that it was for the Common Cause; and what fully confirmed them in this Opinion, was, that they saw 'em retire towards *Venice*: For as that Republick had ever been constant to the Party of the *Guelphs*, they did not doubt but that they were going to re-establish 'em, and took the same Road, that they might go and join themselves to their pretended Deliverers.

But the *Venetian* Senate had quite different Thoughts, on so favourable a Conjunction which Fortune presented it. They had already for some Years been distast'd with their old Policy, which consisted in aggrandizing their selves Sea-ward; whether they had been pall'd by the Obstacles they had met with from the *Genoeses* in the Prosecution of that Design, or that they already despair'd of maintaining to themselves the Dominion of the *Adriatic* Gulf, against such formidable Adversaries as the *Ottomans*; or that, in fine, they were possess'd with those Desires of Inconstancy in point of Government, with which Commonwealths are agitated no less violently than Monarchies, tho' not so often.

They

They had bent their Designs towards the *Terra Firma*, and imagin'd that the Conquest of *Italy* would not be impossible for 'em to effect, by attacking it the same ways the *Romans* had formerly done, so to render themselves Masters of it: I mean, by falling in with, and fomenting the Divisions which they found among the *Italians*; whereas heretofore they were the first to extinguish them.

I know this Design was unjust, as the Tyrannick Rigours which they used to execute it, did afterwards evince.

Paulus Jovius,
Guichardini,
Albertus, and
Mongino.

But methinks the Historians of *Italy* speak thereof with too much tartness, when they term it Chimerical: For after all, the *Venetians* were then in a better Posture, than the *Romans* were when they undertook it. They were absolute Masters of their Gulf, and none, no not so much as the Emperour and King of *Naples*, durst cross it without their leave. The Isle of *Candie*, which they possess'd entirely, was its Key on the side of the *Levant*, which was the most dangerous: and Fortune, to skreen 'em the better from the Enterprises of the Infidels, had newly given 'em the famous Kingdom of *Cyprus*, which they had hook'd in by Intrigues that would furnish ample Matter to *Anecdota*, if there

was any Pen bold enough to dare to undertake it. They were no less Potent on the *Terra Firma*, since that besides the better part of *Friuli*, *Istria*, and *Dalmatia*, and the most delicious Territory of *Lombardy*, which they held, they had set footing in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the means of some Maritime Places, which King *Ferrand* had been constrain'd to pawn to 'em, for the carrying on the Civil War against his Nobles. They had got near *Ferrara*, through the Polerain of *Rovigo*: They had purchased the strongest Places of *Romagna*, by whose means they Check-mated the puny Tyrants that possessed the rest of that little Province: They had thrown the Marquis of *Mantona* into a blind Dependency on their Wills; and the Republick of *Genoua* no longer defended it self against 'em with the same vigour as before, being the Seditions under which it laboured, had constrained it to seek out a Foreign Protection. The Duke of *Milan* could not preserve the Sovereignty his Father had acquired, but by persevering in their Alliance; and if the Duke of *Savoy* had nothing to fear directly from 'em, his Territories were not out of the Irruption of the Troops which they had permission to levy in the nearest Cantons of *Swisserland*, and among the *Grisons*.

There

There onely remained the Republicks of *Florence*, *Siena*, and *Lucca*, whither the *Venetians* had no admision; and as they expected to get Access thither by the means of the *Pitti's*, who courted their Protection, they easily granted it, in hopes the Civil War that was going to kindle in *Tuscany* would beget 'em an Occasion to seise on *Pisa*, or some other Place on the *Tyrrhene* Sea, from whence, by the number of Shipping, which they had much greater than any other State in *Europe*, it would be easie for 'em to ruine the Commerce of *Genoua*, and make themselves Masters of that which *France*, *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries* drove upon the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Upon this consideration they receiv'd the *Pitti's* after a more magnificent Aspect than they were wont to receive other Criminals; & though the Pretext of their Entertainment was to exert some sort of Acknowledgment to a Family that had oblig'd 'em with so many Colonels and Lieutenant-Generals of their Armies, those however who pretended to dive farther into the Policy of the Senate, did affirm, That there was Mystery in this Reception, and the Consideration of the past, was not the onely reason for this Carriage.

Be it as it will, the *Pitti's* were defrayed at *Venice* at the Publick Cost, until they had

had settled themselves to all intents; and though nothing positive was said to them, to confirm 'em in the Resolution they had taken, of carrying the War into the Center of their Country; yet not any of the indirect ways were neglected, that could contribute to this Design. They were given to understand, by Emissaries set privately to work, That the Senate had lived in Peace for several years with the State of *Florence*, wherewith it had moreover contracted an Alliance, which it could not break, without losing the Reputation it had acquir'd of Probity, and without exciting a general Scandal, by so manifest a Violation of the Right of Nations; That this Alliance did indeed mutually engage the two Republicks not to give any Assistance to their Enemies, and not to meddle (in any manner) with the re-establishment of those they had banished; but that it did not deprive the Senate of the Freedom that was natural to it to dispose of its Troops; That it had on foot the bravest and best-disciplin'd Army in *Christendom*; and that it had moreover got into its Service, by an excessive Pension, that famous General *Bartholomi Coglione*, with whom, since the Death of *Francisco Sforza*, not one Person disputed the Quality of the Greatest Captain in *Europe*; That though the Senate had

had all the Reasons in the World to be satisfied with his Services, there was not, however, any inconvenience in retrenching him of his Pension, under colour of the profound Peace the Republick then enjoy'd both by Sea and Land, or to diminish it in such manner, as that the General should not be contented with what remained; That in either of those two Cases, he might handsomly leave the Service, and close with the Party that should be more advantageous to him; That the same Pretext would serve for the dismissing the better part of the *Venetian Army*, and that they might treat before-hand with the Officers of the Troops which they design'd 'em, and List them against the time they should be Cashier'd.

The *Pirri's* took the hint of what they meant, and being assembled with the Principal of the *Guelphs*, they agreed, That the Expedient which had been newly suggested unto them, was in effect the most capable of re-establishing 'em in their Country; because that as the Republick of *Venice* was then the richest State of *Europe*, and that it gave its Soldiers larger Pay than was given by any other *Christian* Potentate, she had ever, by consequence, the best Troops, and maintain'd her self by this means in the reputation of succeeding in her Projects. Thus it

was

was resolv'd, That the *Pitti's* should lay their Effects in Tribulation, for the finding out ready Money; and that they should cause *Coglione*, and the other Officers of the Companies that had been mark'd out to them, to be sound'd; and that if he promis'd to fight under their Colours, with the same Pension, in case they came to be dismiss'd by the *Venetian* State, the same Emisseries should be employed to retain 'em.

This secret Negotiation had all the Success the *Pitti's* could desire. *Coglione* having already smelt out the Senates Design, gave Assurances of his Service, and likewise took upon himself to solicit the Officers that should be Reformed. Then the Exiles beseech'd the Senate to give 'em some Assistance, but they were positively refus'd: yet, some time after, the Republick fell to work on the Reformation of its Army. True it is, that it was not until after having by a secret Treaty engaged it in their Interests, under whose Ensign it had newly list'd it self. *Coglione* was degraded, and he took the usual Oath to the *Pitti's*. The Soldiers that were Cashier'd, sided with the same Party their General had chosen; and as there were not then any Wars in *Italy*, those that had a mind to be instructed in the Trade of Arms, or had no other Profession, flocked

flocked from all Parts, to signalize themselves under so brave a Captain. The number of 'em was so great, that there was seen in a short time upon the Frontiers of *Romagna* and *Ferrara* the bravest Army that had appeared in *Italy* since that the House of *Anjou* had been drove out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the Princes of *Italy* were too jealous, and too deeply concerned, to forbear taking umbrage at such sudden Warlike Preparations. The Person of *Coglione* was so well known to 'em, as to guess to what intent he made no scruple of becoming the *Pitti's* Man, who were onely meer Citizens of *Florence*, after having exercised for twenty years the most Noble and Courted Charge of the *Christian* Army. They held him for an Adventurer, in whom Fortune seem'd to shew how whimsical she is. He was born in the Neighbourhood of *Bergamo*; and his Family had been totally put to the Sword in the Quarrels of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins*. He had begg'd until eighteen years of age, when that being at *Naples*, and no body daring to dispute with him the Prize in Wrestling or Running, by reason of his prodigious Strength, and incomparable Agility, *Joan* the Second, Queen of *Naples*, who onely valued Men for Vigour of Body, had made him her Minion: But he grew quickly
weary

weary of that infamous Exercise, and stealing away from Court, he went to perform his Apprenticeship in Martial Affairs under the famous *Braccio*, and since under *Francesco Sforza*, with whom he passed through all the Degrees, and then mounted up to the Lieutenant-Generalship, when his Commander made himself Duke of *Milan*. Afterwards the *Venetians* enticed him away, to give him the Supreme Command of their Armies; wherein he acquired great Reputation, and so much Riches, that the ready Money, he had scrap'd together, is said to have amounted to Two hundred thousand Crowns; and this Sum was then so prodigious, that the *Italians* could by no means imagine that *Cognone* would have rendered himself the *Pittis* Subject, but with design of subduing the State of *Florence* to the *Venetians*, or to conquer it for himself, after the Example of him that had taught him his Trade, who had newly raised, upon much weaker Foundations, the most topping Sovereignty in *Italy*.

This spread a general Alarm from the *Alps* unto the *Adriatick* Sea. The *Florentines* seeing the Storm ready to pour down upon them, did what they were wont in the most difficult Conjunctions; I mean, they abandoned the Government of their City to *Piero de Medicis*'s Friends, who had the principal

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Interest

Interest in the Affair. These caused the People to assemble, put them in Arms, drove away all the suspected Persons, and made the Exiles be declared Enemies of the Republick. Afterwards they levy'd Troops, and put them into such Places of their State as they saw were likely to be first attack'd. But as it was not possible to assemble in so short a time an Army powerful enough to keep the Field against that of the Exiles, or to oppose against *Coglione* a Leader near his Equal in repute, recourse was of necessity to be had to those Powers whose Counterbalance maintained at that time what was free in *Italy*, namely, the Duke of *Milan*, and the King of *Naples*.

I have already noted, That the last Act of *Cosmo de Medici's* Life was to acquire to his Son the Alliance of those two Princes. But what had appeared so easie on the Board, and when there needed only promising, became almost impossible in the Performance; so many Obstacles did there arise to cross it. For, on the one side, the King of *Naples* did indeed consent to grant the *Florentines* part of the Troops design'd for the Defence of his Kingdom; but he would by no means yield that they should act joyntly with those of the Duke of *Milan*, whom he look'd on as his Capital Enemy, and forbid them to have any

any Communication with them. Nay, he could not so much as endure that they should encamp near one another; and tho' they represented to him, that it would be giving them over to Slaughter, to expose them separated to *Coglione's* Mercy, who had the repute of being the most vigilant Captain that *Italy* had produc'd since *Julius Caesar*, and to spend whole Nights on Horseback, for the surprising of Quarters; tho' it was very easie for this General to cut them in pieces after one another, if he came to discover that they acted under different Orders: This Peril, how evident soever, did not touch the Mind of the King of *Naples* after so sensible a manner, as the fear of his Soldiers being debauch'd by the Duke of *Milan*, as they had been in the foregoing Conjunctions for the making War upon the Infidels.

On the other side, the Duke of *Milan* spoke with great Pomp of the Succours he gave the *Florentines*. He propos'd sending into *Tuscany* Troops in equal number, and better equipage, than the King of *Naples*. He proceeded further, offering to Head them with *Federigo d'Orbino*, whom he kept in his Service, with almost the same Pensions as the *Venetians* gave *Coglione*, and who would make War so much the better upon this General, as for that there was a laudable Emulation

between them, which engaged them reciprocally to practise all the Stratagems of the Military Art, to surprise, and hinder being surprised. But he pretended before all things, that the King of *Naples* should be bound not to send any Fleet into the River of *Genova*, capable of giving any Jealousie to the State of *Milan*; with which the *Neopolitan* was the more loth to comply, in that he was extraordinarily provok'd against the *Genoveses*, who had back'd the Revolt of his Barons; and besides, it goar'd him very sensibly, in that he must receive the Law from his Enemy, for the obliging him to defend an Ally.

In the mean while, the Friends of *Piers* adjusted these Differences sooner than was expected, and propounded a Temperament which equally fitted the King of *Naples* and Duke of *Milan's* turn. They assured the King of *Naples*, that his Troops should only be employ'd in the defence of *Pisa* and its Territory, where they should not be oblig'd to receive a Companion; which he accepted, and caused them to depart with all expedition, under the Conduct of *Galeazzo de St. Severini*. Afterwards, they nick'd their time so well to attack his weak side, which was Vanity, and represent to him how glorious it would be for him to sacrifice a Desire of
Revenge,

Revenge, tho' it was lawful, to the Safety of his Allies; and what a Tarnish, on the contrary, his Reputation would receive, if he hindred the *Genoueses* to assist the *Florentines*, in the War he was going to declare against them; that this Prince gave his Word to suspend his Resentment, until the Peace was re-established in *Tuscany*. Thus the Duke of *Milan* having no more Pretext to defer the March of his Auxiliary Troops, and the Friends of *Piero* having gain'd him to all intents and purposes, by the Offer they made of giving him the principal Honour of the Defence, by confiding in his Troops the keeping of *Florence*, he dispatch'd *Federigo d' Urbino* with all diligence, to give order for the fortifying the Suburbs, and caus'd him to be attended by choice Companies of Horse and Foot, in so splendid an Equipage, that the like had not been seen in *Italy* since it had been ravaged by Barbarous Nations. Not a Trooper was there, but had his Led-Horse, and his Arms enrich'd with all that Luxury had then invented most Rare and Curious. The Helms and Corselets which the Infantry made use of were engraven. They had their Trappings deck'd with Cyphers and Devices which noted the Amours and principal Adventures of each Foot-Soldier. Their Swords were adorned with Tufts of Gold in

Embroidery ; and the Guidons and Ensigns displayed all the Fineries of Needle-work.

These Soldiers entred *Florence* in the posture of Triumphers, rather than of Auxiliaries; and their presence made *Coglione* change the Design of approaching it. But *Piero's* Friends seeing them too curl'd and finical, and too assiduous at Balls, to have a good Opinion of their Prowess, thought there was no trusting so far in their Valour, as not to raise other Troops. They knew that the Ecclesiastick State had ever been a Nursery of Soldiers, and that the two most Illustrious Families of that State, namely, the *Colonnefi* and *Orfini*, had accustom'd themselves for these three Ages to lead Bodies of Armed Men, into the Service of those who would attack or defend themselves against their Enemies, without further troubling their Heads, whether the Cause of the Party that called them was just, and without examining ought else, than the more or less Pensions that were offer'd them. They resolv'd to gain them to their side, and began with that of the *Colonnefi*, who stood not upon much entreaty to enter into Treaty with them, for two Reasons. The first is, That being wedded to the Fortune of the Kings of *Naples*, they equally followed the Inclination and Interest of King *Ferdinand*, by declaring themselves

themselves for the Republick of *Florence*, against that of *Venice*, because this Prince had propos'd to himself, by all manner of means, to obstruct the Greatness of the *Venetians*; and with'd moreover, that it should be published thro' all *Europe*, That he it was that maintain'd the Calm of *Italy*, by stripping the Ambitious of the Means of aggrandizing themselves at the expence of others. The second Reason was, That the House of the *Colonna's* had ever been the Mark of the Vengeance of the Popes, since *Siccara*, one of its most signalized Captains, had surpris'd *Boniface* the Eighth in *Agnania*. This Persecution had made it close with the Party of the *Gibellins*, and treat as Enemies all those that had declared themselves for the Sovereign Pontiff. Thus it saw it self oblig'd to act against the Exiles of *Florence*, since they were supported by the *Guelphs*; and that besides, it could not doubt, but that the new Pope, who had newly taken the Name of *Sixtus* the Fourth, would contribute with all his Power to the Ruine of the State of *Florence*, which serv'd for an Asyle to so many little Tyrants, who had seised upon the best Places of *Romagna*, and of the Dutchy of *Spoletto*.

There was more difficulty to hook in the House of the *Orsini's*; for as it was an irre-

conciliable Enemy of that of the *Colonna's*, it was sufficient for it to see the *Colonne's* engaged in one Party, to go offer immediately their Service to the contrary Side. Yet they made a shift to bring *Virginio*, the Head of the Family, to a Negotiation, which he did not get out of as free as he entered. They laid him a Snare which he did not distrust, and proposed to him at first the Marriage of his Daughter, that was but twelve years of Age, with *Lorenzo de Medici*, who was not yet fifteen. *Virginio*, tho' the eldest, was not the richest of his House : His Profusions had utterly squander'd what was left of the ravaging of his Enemies; and the Debts he had contracted, already surpassed the just Value of his Lands. Thus it was no surprising matter to see him lend an Ear to a Proposition seasoned with all that could sweeten the Inequality. They lent him Money absolutely to clear off all Engagements, and stipulated that he should pay no Interest for ten years. They took his Daughter without any Portion. They assured to his Family, in case of misfortune, a Retreat near the State of the Church : And, what was most advantageous to him in the Issue, tho' he little valued it then, they gave him a Son-in-Law, young indeed, but who already seem'd to bespeak himself to be one day the First Man of his Age.

The Nuptials were not celebrated with much Pomp, as not befitting the present Juncture: There was, however, a world of *Epithalamiums*, among which, that of *Angelus Politianus*, who being but of the Bridegroom's years, made Verses worthy of the Age of *Augustus*, was the best received. In a few days after, the News of *Coglione's* Approach kid-napp'd young *Lorenzo* out of the Arms of his Bride, and made him take Horse, to go learn the Military Art, under the Discipline of his Father-in-Law.

However the War was not very warm in the beginning, tho' the Troops on both sides were in a state of acting. And those who knew *Coglione's* impatient and extraordinarily active and fiery Humour, could not conceive, why, his Army being the strongest, and best martializ'd, he trifl'd away his time in laying waste the open Country, and taking in little Places, in stead of shewing himself in Battalia in the sight of *Florence*, and harassing the *Milanese* Troops, who seem'd already on the point of disbanding, since the Guard of the Suburbs had been committed to them. But they knew not, that *Coglione* had more than one String to his Bow, and that he would not use Force, till he had spent all the Artifices of his Profession.

The *Florentines* never thought of driving
all

all the Exiles Relations but of the City; and whether the number of 'em was too great to be done with safety, or that they durst not in so dangerous a Conjunction act with all the Severity of the Laws, against Men presumptively innocent; nothing had been said to those that were not suspected of any Intelligence or particular Engagement with their Kinsmen. Yet the War was no sooner felt upon the Frontier, but Changes were perceived among the Populace, that must necessarily be fomented by some Internal and Domestic Enemies. The People complaining of Inconveniencies and Grievances they had not yet felt: they began to speak of the Exile's Power, and in their Discourse to multiply the Number of their Soldiers. In a word, they even launch'd out into Assertions, That they had been punish'd with over-much Severity, and that it was but very just, that those who thwarted their Repeal, should be at all the Charges of the War.

Too publick were these Rumours not to reach *Piero de Medici's* Ear; and as he had too weak and dastardly a Spirit to remedy it, he conceived a kind of Sorrow, accompanied with Despair, that put him into a Fever. On the contrary, the *Pitti's*, who received every moment certain Advices of all Occurrences at *Florence*, began to flatter themselves with

the Hopes of a speedy Re-establishment. They went to *Coglione*, and inform'd him of the Cabals of their own Party and Faction. They told him that the Peoples Discontent was at on the point of breaking out; and that they waited for nothing more than an Occasion for so doing, by the approach of the Army.

Coglione was too compleat a Captain to mis understanding the Importance of what was told him, and too self-interested to refuse a March which in all probability must render him the Richest Adventurer in *Europe*; for he promis'd himself nothing less than the Pillage of *Florence*, if it continued obstinate in its own Defence; or a mighty Contribution, the better part of which would flow into his Coffers, in case it gave ear to any Accommodation. He did not sufficiently value the Troops of *Milan*; as to imagine they durst make Head against him; and besides, he did not see sufficient Union among the *Florentines*, nor Dependency between the new Levies and their Leaders, to persuade himself, that they were in a state to hold out Siege.

Nevertheless, as he had not so firm an Engagement with the *Pitti's*, though under their Pay, as with the Republick of *Venice*, that had degraded him, he took some days delay,

delay, under colour as if all things were not yet ready in his Army, for its advancing into the very Center of the Enemies Country; but indeed to inform the *Venetians* State of the true Condition and Estate of the City of *Florence*, and to ask their Permission to draw near it.

The Letter he writ in Cyphers was examined by the Senate with all imaginable exactness, but not in the sense that *Coglione* had writ it; for the General had no other Design than to serve those from whom he received his Pay, in a Conjunction wherein he found his own, as well as they their Advantage: Whereas the *Venetians* proposed directly to themselves only the Interest of their Republick, and consider'd that of the *Pitti* no farther than as it concurred with their own. They did not judge it advantageous to their Commonwealth, for *Coglione* to advance into the very Face of *Florence*, because if he became Master of that Town, he would be obliged to leave it at the *Pitti's* Mercy, who in all probability would not ravish it of its Freedom, so far were they from subjecting it to the Laws of another Republick. And if *Coglione* was so bold as to declare when he was entred the Town, That he pretended to hold it in the name of the *Venetians*, besides the horrible Scandal which an Action

that Nature would cause throughout all Europe, it would not be possible for him to keep his new Conquest long, in regard the Princes of *Italy* would immediately take umbrage, and endeavour in Concert to re-establish the *Florentines* in the Freedom they before enjoy'd. Which the *Venetians* would be so much the less in a capacity to oppose, as having no place upon the *Tuscan Coast*, and being easily hindred coming thither by Land, *Caglione* would have only the vexation to see the Fruit of his Perfidiousness miscarry, and the *Venetians* the regret of having to no purpose prostituted their Reputation.

Thus, they thought it fitting to fasten upon some Enterprize of less noise, and of more ease to succeed: They thought it best to abandon the *Florentines*, amazed with their Civil Division, and in the mean while cause *Caglione* to march to the Conquest of a Place that might be relieved by Sea after the taking, and re-victualled from time to time, without their being forc'd to pass through others Lands. That of *Pisa* was both the most important of it self, and the most commodious for this Design. It had a Territory sufficiently big for the framing a durable Settlement, and Ports sufficiently large to ride secure during the greatest Tempests. Its Inhabitants were born in an irreconcilable aversion

aversion to the *Florentines*, and consequently dispos'd to attempt and endure all, rather than be their Slaves. Moreover the *Italian* Princes would not be so much alarm'd, hearing it was besieged, because they were accus'd to see it change its Master; and it would be more easie to persuade them, that it should be restored in the Accommodation.

These Considerations prevailed in the Senate of *Venice* over *Coglione's* Reasons, to whom they sent a Dispatch, that it was much better to fix upon *Pisa*. It was no difficult matter for the General to make the *Pittis* condescend to this Undertaking; for they clearly saw, that this was not the shortest way to be taken for their Return into their Country, they durst not however declare openly all they thought of it, because they found *Coglione* too firm in his Resolution to be stagger'd; and they lay under the fear, by shocking him unseasonably, to lose the Benefit they expected from his Valour.

Thus the Attack of *Pisa* was concluded, and *Coglione's* Cavalry, almost all composed of *Epirotes* and *Albaneses*, had order to invest it, while the *Venetian* Ships advanc'd towards the Coasts, to hinder the Succours that might be put into it by Sea. But whether his Cavalry did not set upon marching as soon as they were commanded, as being loth

to leave their Quarters of Refreshment; that the Spies that *Piero de Medici's* Friends kept at great Charges in the Enemies Camp, had inform'd them at the very instant of the Resolution taken in the Council of War, it hapned, that at the same time that *Colliene's* Troops left their Quarters to go to *Alfa*, those of *Naples* quitted likewise theirs, and march the same way. And as they were much nearer, *San Severino* their General had the leisure to enter the Town, and range them in Places the most subject to unforeseen Attacks, before the Exiles Army did appear.

Without this Precaution, the accurate Kenners of Military Discipline judged that the Town would have been forthwith taken: For the Inhabitants stood but very ill affected to their own Defence, and looked upon the Enemies with as little concern, as if they had been the Spectators of a Tragedy. They utter'd in publick, That the worst that could befall 'em, was the shifring of Tyrants. And as the Common People are very ingenious in cockering their Noddles with Hopes, tho' dull almost in every thing else, they imagin'd, that a Revolution, let it turn on what side soever, would infallibly change their unhappy Destiny: from whence it was easy to foresee, that if there had not been

an Army maintained by the *Florentines*, who should have opposed the Enemies Impetuosity, the Enemy had easily trod them under foot.

And indeed, *San Severino*, who had as much Experience as Valour, did not think there was any safety to trust them with the Guard of the Suburbs. He kept them in the Main Guard, situated in the midst of the Town, under colour that it was the giving them the most Honourable Employ, as to oblige them to watch over the Fidelity of the Inhabitants, and disposed the Troops he brought in those Parts where he judged the Enemy would come. He was not mistaken in his Conjecture, and *Coglione* did not lose time in following the Methods of the Cap-

Pellegrin in
his last Book
of the Art
Military.

tains of his Age, who never attack'd a Place without having made an exact Muster of their Army to those they pretended to besiege, and without having finish'd the Circuit of their Walls in Battel-array. He forthwith attack'd the Suburbs with great violence, but was repuls'd with so much loss, that he was compell'd to change his Design of Forcing the Town, into that of Reducing it by a Siege. Nor did he persevere long in the Resolution of making himself Master of it in the Forms; for as soon as he was inform'd

form'd that 6000 brave Soldiers were got into the Place, commanded by an experienced Head, he judg'd that it would be the ruining his Army, without much incommoding the Besieged, to attack them regularly. Thus his thoughts were wholly set upon retrenching them of their Provisions, and constraining the *Neapolitan* Troops by a Blockade to leave *Pisa*. But while he was heaving and labouring at this, with that indefatigable Vigilancy that made him subdue so many Places to the State of *Venice*, Fortune, as it were out of derision to him, begat the Occasion of finishing the War to his advantage, when he had ty'd up his Hands, as a Man may say, and incapacitated himself to profit by it.

Piero de Medicis's Gout mounting up again; while he laboured under his Fever, put a period to his days in so short a time, that he had not the leisure to settle his Affairs. His Friends were so much the more startled at his Death, as they had the less foreseen it; and own'd from Experience, that Men of Consideration, as well as great Trees, never make more Shadow than when they fall: For tho' *Piero* acted neither with Head nor Hand in the Concerns of the *Florentine* Republick, or in his own; tho' he did not so much as know by sight the most of those that devoted themselves to his Interests, and

exposed daily their Lives and Fortunes in his behalf; his bare Name, however, was become so great, and the Reputation of his Riches had acquir'd him so vast a number of Persons and Creatures, that it sufficed most of those who received Succours from him to know that he was in the World, to execute what had been ordain'd them on his account. Thus serving for a Band of Union to his Friends, and a Mediator to the young Gentlemen who Caball'd for the Principal Offices of Trust, he could not be said to be useless, notwithstanding his continual Infirmities, and the weakness of his *Genius*. And, on the contrary, People foresaw, that his Death would be so much the more injurious to the Republick, and his Family, for that he left Both in a deplorable Condition.

The End of the First Book.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

The Second Book.

OF all the Houses that now bear any
Sovereign Sway, not one is there
that has been reduc'd to stranger
Extremities than that of *Medicis* :
Nor was the House of *Medicis* ever so near
its Ruine, as in the sad Conjunction when
young *Lorenzo* became its Head. As he had

reaped his Father's whole Estate, bating a very small Portion, which fell to *Giuliano* his younger Brother, to serve him for Legitimation, he was likewise to undergo all the Charges, which could not possibly be more heavy than at that time. Become he was the Head of his Family, and the most considerable Citizen in *Florence*, at an Age when others have still need of ten years Guardianship; and his Youth was almost equally despisable to his Friends and his Enemies. He found he was engaged in a War, which the Riches that came to him by Inheritance could not sufficiently cope withal, tho' they were immense. In the mean while, by all likelihood, the Sequels of this War would be long and troublesome, seeing the Republick of *Venice* was a Party concerned.

Besides the declared Enemies of his House, that appeared with Sword in hand, to the number of above Twenty thousand, there was a great many secret and unknown ones in the Territory, as also in the City of *Florence*, who were no less to be feared. The People had by their Shrugs and Mutterings shewn how weary they were of the War, before they had suffered any Inconveniency from it; and gave out, that they would make their Accommodation at their Expence who were the Cause or the Pretext of the Discord.

The

The Auxiliary Troops thought, that their Engagement was ended by the Death of *Piero de Medici*, and acted so faintly, as it was easie to guess, that in a few days they expected to be recalled. The *Gonfaloniere* and the Sub-alternate Magistrates began to despair of maintaining the War, and did not believe they were now powerful enough to keep the Faction in Obedience. The Friends of the House of *Medici* had newly lost the Foundation of their Union in the Person of *Piero*, and durst no longer act in concert, out of an opinion they had of one another, that each Man meditated the making his Accommodation apart. In few words, the Danger was so great, and seem'd so inevitable, that there needed the utmost Endeavours of the most Heroick and most Consummated Virtue, to triumph over so many Difficulties.

Nevertheless, *Lorenzo de Medici* undertook it for his Trial of Skill. And as he borrowed from History part of what he was wanting in from Experience, the first thing he did was to comport himself like a Man that would not only supply his Father's Place, but likewise that of his Grandfather. The next day assisting at the Council, he made known to the Adherents of his Name, what might reasonably be expected from a Man of such a promising Capacity. He spoke his

Advice with such maturity of Wit as was admired, and began with that happy Address, as to make his Person consider'd like a Rising Sun. And indeed, that very Afternoon the Council assembled at his House, where he spoke of the Republick's and of his own Affairs with so much Prudence, Order, and Neatness, that he fully persuaded those of his Party, that they had gained more than they had lost in the Death of his Father.

Then he apply'd his Endeavours wholly to re-establish the good Understanding which *Piero's* Death had altered, and to prevent the Advantages which might have thence accrued to his Enemies. He caused Money to be dol'd among all the Troops that served the Republick of *Florence*, and hindred them by this Gratification from giving ear to the *Pitti's* Emissaries, bribed to corrupt them. He spread about a Rumour, That there were Letters intercepted from the *Pitti's*, which named almost all those of their Faction that were left at *Florence*, to manage the People in their favour, and that their Persons were suddenly to be seised on, to be served as Criminals of State; and gave so many Marks that the Republick would proceed to their Imprisonment, that those who found themselves culpable, thought there was no Safety any longer for them at *Florence*, and sought
Retreat

Retreat elsewhere: Which in two days space caus'd all the Complaints to cease, that were made against the Government.

He accustomed the People to despise the Exiles, and no longer to value the Forces they had assembled, by making them observe the Fault that *Coglione* had committed, in setting upon *Pisa*, in stead of marching directly to *Florence*; and started among them Subjects for pleasant Discourses, so to divert them from the mortifying Tidings they from time to time received, of their Houses of Pleasure being burnt. And then, when the Storm was over, and the Country was laid desolate, he made the Parties concern'd so well comprehend the importance of the Injury that was done them, that he rendred them irreconcilable to those who were the Authors of such Devastations, and made them as many Soldiers devoted to the Defence of his Party. He with all haste dispatch'd away Courriers to *Naples* and *Milan*, that the first News of his Father's Death might be imparted there from him himself; and the Messengers were immediately followed by Gentlemen of Note and Trust, who obtained, in favour of *Lorenzo de Medici*, the Confirmation of the Treaties concluded with his Predecessor, and brought new Orders to the Auxiliary Troops to act vigorously for his Interests.

The Magistrates he re-encourag'd, by assuring them, that what Soldiers were in *Florence*, should be employ'd to procure them Obedience. He gave the Friends of his House to understand, that they ought not to seek elsewhere, than in his Person, for the Foundation of their Union; and made them so agreeable a Reproach for entertaining thoughts of knocking off their several ways, that they cou'd not but blush out of meer shame; so that he brought them again to a good understanding of one another. He made them fall again to their former Functions, without the least alteration. He obliged them to declare themselves publicly in his behalf, for the rendring them the more firm, and to take away from the *Pitti's* the Hopes of corrupting them. In one word, he adjusted all things so well, that the Republick did not suffer any of the Revolutions with which it had been threatned by his Father's Death.

But with all this, it would have been impossible for him to have maintain'd himself by his own Virtue, if Fortune had not espous'd his Cause, and if his Enemies, in stead of repairing the Fault they had committed, had not augmented it by an unseasonable and affected Obstinacy. All the Rules of the Military Art did require, that *Coglione* in the
very

very moment he had the News of *Piero de Medici's* Death, should have rais'd the Blockade of *Pisa*, and caus'd his Army to advance towards *Florence*, to foment the Intelligences which the *Pitti's* maintain'd there, and to be at lurch for nicking the Changes, which according to all appearance could not miss of happening. The *Pitti's* conjured him to it with Instances which might probably have prevailed. They represented to him, That the *Pisan* Enterprize was no longer in terms of succeeding; That the Succours of *Naples*, that were got into the Town, had removed the principal Foundation on which it was built, by disarming the Inhabitants, and dispensing them from all Military Functions; That the Place wanted neither Victuals nor Amunitions; That there was no expecting any Discord between the Soldiers and the Citizens; and, That as *San Severino* was a Man of Order, he would easily appease the Quarrels which might arise among the Soldiers: From whence the *Pitti's* concluded, That they must resolve on spending the whole next Winter before *Pisa*, and in the mean while leave the *Florentines* in a State of executing all the Enterprizes they would frame, after having settled their Government; or, That they ought to draw nearer to their City, that they might take advantage

advantage of the Tumults, which their Friends would not fail of exciting there. However, *Coglione* had no regard to this Remonstrance, and made appear by his Obstinacy, that there is nothing more dangerous than the putting ones Affairs into the disposal of a Person that has not the same Interest for their accomplishment. The secret Orders of the *Venetian* Senate prevail'd over the General's Duty; and the desire of augmenting his own Renown, to the cost of *San Severino's*, and perhaps also of getting by the Ransom of the richest Barons of *Naples*, who had put themselves into the Town, reduc'd all his thoughts to that of suffering nothing to go in or out.

Lorenzo de Medici being over-joy'd at his Adversary's fatal Stupidity, lost not one moment of the Leisure afforded him. He took care of Affairs abroad, after his terminating those at home, and gave his Father-in-Law Money, to get into the Service of the *Florentines* the Troops appointed for the Guard of the Ecclesiastick State. He enabled the *Colonna's* to Lift those *Italian* Forces again, which the *French* King and the *Count de Charellois* had Cashier'd after the War for the Publick Good; and when he saw himself strong enough to appear in the presence of his Enemy, he march'd out of *Florence* in
Quality

Quality of Commissary-General of the Republic; and leaving all the Honour and Supreme Authority of the Army to *Federigo d'Urbino*, he onely reserved to himself the Care of its Subsistence.

Federigo did not frustrate the Hopes that were conceived of his Valour. He went directly for *Pisa*, with so much Resolution, that *Coglione* (who detach'd himself out, for the viewing him the better) doubted the being defeated, if he suffer'd himself to be coop'd up betwixt the *Neapolitan* Troops which he held invested, and the Succours that came to their Relief. To avoid this inconvenience, which had made him lose all his Reputation, he raised the Blockade with great Order, as well as Diligence. And as he had no great opinion of the *Florentines* Army, because near half of it were new Levies, he encamped in such manner as if he design'd to present them Battel. *Federigo d'Urbino* and *San Severino* did not refuse it, after having joyned their Forces; and *Laurenzo de Medici* was oblig'd to consent thereunto, tho' he sufficiently foresaw, that it was a remitting, to the Disposure of Fortune, the Freedom of his Country, and the Establishment of his House. The Particulars of this Fight upon the Banks of the River *Riccardi*, in the Territory of *Bologne*, are in all the Histories

Histories of *Florence*, two excepted, which they have perhaps omitted, because they properly appertain to a Writer of *Anecdota*. The first is, That *Coglione* having invented a few days before the way of managing Artillery in the open Field, made use of it the Day of Battel, with a very whimsical Success; for it had no other Effect upon the *Florentine* Army, than the taking off Prince *Hercules* of *Ferrara's* Boot-heel; which all *Italy* complain'd of to *Coglione*, as a manifest Contravention to their Laws and Measures of War, in that distrusting the Valour of his Soldiers, he had invented the Secret of stealing the Victory, not finding himself capable of gaining it by legitimate means. The second Circumstance is, That the Battel not beginning before the Days declension, and the Night coming on before it was ended, the Black Guards, Grooms, and Foot-men, and other Creatures of that stamp, kindled Flambeaux, and fell to lighting their Masters, in such manner as they were wont to do at Tournaments.

To neither Side the Victory inclined; and the two Parties having bang'd themselves weary, tho' with the loss of very little Blood, retired with an equal Advantage. But *Federigo d' Urbino*, who would needs refine upon the manner of making War, which otherwise

otherwise was then practis'd without any Craft or Artifice, bethought himself of giving but two hours Repose to the Army of Florence, and to lead it afterwards, without any noise, to attack the Enemies Camp. He came thither at Break of day, and found *Coglione's* Soldiers so fast asleep, that it was easie for him to take the Quarter which he assaulted, before the Troops appointed for the Guard of the other Quarters were awaked, and put into a Posture of Self-defence. This Conflict was a little more bloody than that of the Day before: But then, as they did not yet understand in *Italy* what it was to kill Men that made no Defence, and asked to be set at Ransom, the Exiles lost in this Rencontre little more than the Sum of Money, which was employ'd in redeeming the Prisoners. The greatest Mischief fell upon *Coglione*, of whom the *Pitti's* had so mean and slight an Opinion, that from that time they would not confide in him the Command of their Army. But the *Venetians* pretending to be more just Estimators of Unfortunate Virtue, re-establish'd him in the Generalship, from whence they had outed him, sooner than was necessary for the retrieving their own Reputation; and by that means persuading the most incredulous Minds out of the Opinion, that he had not so absolutely divorc'd himself

himself from their Service, but that he was linked to it by certain indissoluble Chains.

The *Pitti's*, that had dismiss'd him before they had made sure of any other to supply his Room, did not find out a General so easily as they imagin'd; because *Borsius* of *Este*, Marquis of *Ferrara*, on whom they had pitch'd, did not entertain the Offers they made him with all the Heat they desired. Too Judicious he was not to perceive, that the *Venetian* Senate was really deeper concern'd in the *Tuscan* War, than it outwardly appear'd. And as he was a Neighbour to that Republick, and had nothing to fear in that Juncture of Affairs, as long as he stood in good Terms with it, he had no mind to thock it, in consideration of the *Pitti's*, who had nor Strength nor Credit to re-establish him, if he came once to be turn'd out.

The same Reason of State hindred the Marquis from declaring against the *Florentines*, since they were also his Neighbours, and if they had not the same facility to ruine him as the *Venetians*, they might lay waste the Land of *Ferrara*, by causing part of their Victorious Troops to live at discretion there, and so reduce his Subjects to Beggary.

Yet the extraordinary Civility which he us'd even in his Refusals, oblig'd him to let the *Pitti's* know, That tho' his Affairs did
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not allow him to declare
 should account himself ha-
 ving to the Accommodati-
 on capable of that Provin-
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 They had not in themsel-
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 Request to *Borsius* o-
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fair, without consulting the Oracle; for such the *Venetian* Senate was then styl'd: He acquainted them with the Request which had newly been made to him from the Exiles of *Florence*: He communicated to them the full Power they had sent him, and ask'd the Advice of the *Preghadi* upon what he was to do.

Told he was, That the Senate would be very glad to see the Troubles of *Tuscany* at an end, tho' it were onely to take away all Pretence from Calumny, of divulging (as it did) that they were fomented by the *Venetians*. There need ed no more, to make *Borsius* apprehend, that the Senate would no longer undergo the Publick Odium, by protecting Exiles, that were become useless to them by their Misfortune, and suspected by *Coglione's* Degradation. He took this Answer for an Allowance, and without losing time, writ to the *Florentines*, That if they were in a Humour to hearken to Proposals of Agreement, such a reasonable ones should be made them, as they would be very loth to reject.

Lorenzo de Medicis had no sooner notice of this Offer, but he left his Brother *Giuliano* in his room at the Army, and return'd to *Florence*, where he examin'd with his Friends whether it was the particular Interest of his

own

own House, as well as that of the Republick, to conclude the Peace. So divided were their Sentiments, that there was no appearance of re-uniting them; but *Lorenzo*, that had seen more nearly the Mischiefs of the War, and was resolved to put a Period to it some way or other, brought over those that were of opinion to have it continued, by representing to them, That things had so chang'd face since the War began, that they should be infallibly mistaken, if they reason'd upon the same Principles; That the *Pitti's* in truth were not to be fear'd, since they had spent their whole Estate, and lost their Credit; That the *Guelfs* had left them in the lurch; and, that the State of *Venice* was so weary of upholding them, that it onely sought after a plausible Pretext to take away its Protection from them, without noise and scandal; That this Pretence consisted in the Negotiation whereinto the Marquis of *Ferrara* desired them to enter, and that he was of opinion it ought to be accepted; That it would be for the *Florentines* to bate something of the Conditions, under which 'twas pretended they should relax a little of the Severity of the Laws; and that, in the meanwhile, they would derive all the Advantages from a Suspension of Arms, without the *Pitti's* being disburthen'd from the Charges of maintaining

maintaining their Troops; That they would not reap any great Fruit from the Conclusion of the Peace, in case it was made, as they could hardly become more miserable than they were, by the continuation of the War; but that the Commonwealth of *Florence* in general, and the House of *Medici* in particular, ran a risque of losing all, without having any hopes of advantaging themselves, as long as their Enemies had their Swords in their Hands.

Lorenzo added other Reasons of as great moment, to those I have now specified, and made his Friends so well perceive, that it was the Duty of a Republick, to allow Fortune the least Lock it could upon it self, that he made them condescend to Peace. They went out of his House with this Resolution, and the next day caus'd it to be concluded in the Council of Eight, That the Intermission of the Marquis of *Ferrara* should be accepted. The Negotiation was of no long duration, and terminated, like all others that commence betwixt unequal Parties; I mean, that it was concluded at the expence of the weaker Side. The *Pitti's* oblig'd themselves to disarm, and remain Exiles for Ten years; at the Expiration of which, they should be allow'd to return into their own Country, on condition of never more exercising any Magistracy

gistry or Publick Office therein: And the Commonwealth granted an *Amnesty* to those that had taken their part, at the Charge of serving against the City of *Volterra*, then revolted.

This City, more Famous in Ancient than Modern History, truck'd to that of *Florence* with so much the more impatience, as it had been one of the Last that was ranged under its Sway. And the Contrariety of Humour evermore most notorious between its Inhabitants and the *Florentines*, made them believe, that there was no Yoke but what was Light, in comparison of that they bore. These two Causes had engag'd them in the Party of all those who had declar'd themselves at divers times Enemies to the Republick, and had made them open their Gates to *Coglione's Army*, as soon as it appear'd before their Walls. They had not been comprehended in the Negotiation, whether the *Pitti's* had not the Power to do it, or had not much insisted to obtain it, because those of *Volterra* had receiv'd them without exacting from them the least Engagement, either by Word of Mouth, or by Writing.

Thus were they condemn'd by Law-Martial to pay the Charges of the War, and the Principal Officers of the *Florentine Army* prepared to lead their Troops thither.

Lorenzo de Medici onely waited for the Republick's Order to invest it; but this Order was not given, for that the Council of Eight could not easily resolve upon the entire ruine of a Town of that Importance. This Council chose much rather to dissemble the Fault it had committed, than to apply Fire and Sword to repair it. And the perfect Knowledge they fancied they had of the *Genius* of that stubborn People, persuaded them, by a Subtlety of Ratiocination, to wink at their Revolt. They also imagin'd, that it would be losing time, and putting the Authority of the Republick to the Judgment of Private Men, to demand of them the Principal Heads of the Rebellion, which they would never deliver. And as they were neither willing to expose themselves to the Affront of a Refusal of that nature, nor push on to the last Extremity, against People they saw dispos'd to expect it, they were of opinion to treat those of *Volterra* in the same manner they were wont, and to shew them by this Conduct, that they had not taken notice of their Revolt.

But *Lorenzo* made them take up more Generous Sentiments, by representing to them, That the Crime of the *Volterrans* could by no means be dissembled, in a Popular State, without exposing themselves to the Peril of a speedy Revolution; That there was no City

in the Territory of *Florence*, but would follow, upon the first occasion, the Example that had been newly set them, if they were not diverted from so doing by the Quality of the Punishment under which they should be lash'd; and that Clemency was the Rock whereon all Republicks, without excepting that of *Rome*, had suffer'd Wrack, because they were not in a Condition to practise that Virtue with as much security as Kings. He added, however, That Indulgence should be us'd towards those of *Volterra*; but that they must first of all acknowledge themselves unworthy of it, and in craving it, exert their Humility.

These Reasons were indeed drawn from the profoundest Policy; but they were not the sole, nor even the principal, that made *Lorenzo* act in this manner. He had more particular and more pressing ones, which represented to him, his Honour and his Interest were both almost equally engag'd in the Enterprize of *Volterra*; the Burgers of that City having made mighty roaring Railleries, and infamous Satyrs, on the Subject of his Youth, and his too great Familiarity with *Angelus Politianus*, and the Study of Polite Learning, to which he was a Pretender, contrary to the Custom of the *Italian* Gentlemen. Moreover, the War of the

Pitti's had not lasted long enough to hand-
sel his first Arms. There had been onely
one Battel, wherein he acted meerly in Qua-
lity of a Volunteer, and under the Orders of
Federigo d' Urbino. A Soldier he was known
to be; but there was still room for suspicion,
whether he was a Captain, until he was seen
at the Head of an Army, act of himself,
and put happily in practise what he had read
in good Books. The Necessity of his Affairs,
and the Occasion his Friends had for his con-
tinual Presence in the Country, did not al-
low him to seek Employment among Stran-
gers, and all *Italy* enjoy'd at that time a pro-
found Tranquillity: Wherefore in *Tuscany*
was he to seek whereon to make his Appren-
ticeship; and as it was not fitting, or hardly
possible in a Private Person, to raise a new
War in his own Country, at least without
incurring the Publick Abomination, he was
to husband well the Occasion of doing it,
that offer'd it self, for the attaining the Ad-
vantage aimed at, without receiving any Da-
mage. In few words, *Lorenzo* knew that
the *Pitti's* had not acted so much against the
Florentine Republick, as against him; and
held himself, by consequence, the more near-
ly bound to hinder their stirring for the fu-
ture. Yet this could not be prevented, as
long as they had the Conveniency of such a
City

City as *Volterra*, very considerable of it self, and near *Florence*, to serve them for an *Asylum*.

Thus, the Siege of *Volterra* was resolv'd on; and the same *Lorenzo de Medici* who had had sufficient Credit to get that Enterprize undertaken, had likewise sufficient to procure to himself the Commission of performing it. He Invested the Place with the Troops which the *Florentines* kept in Pay, disposing the Attacks with Regularity enough, at a time when hardly any thing was understood of Military Architecture. The Besieged, who had run themselves into this Tempest through their own Imprudence, sustain'd it with more firmness than was expected. They spoke neither of Capitulating nor Surrendring, and did on that occasion what could onely have been expected from the most obstinate Citizens of Old *Rome*. They defended their Town to the very last Extremity, tho' they had not any hopes of being reliev'd; and when People ask'd them what they meant to do, they return'd answer, That they intended nothing else than the deferring their Slavery for some Months. But in short, those who had yielded neither to the Violence of their Adversaries, nor to Lassitude and Weariness, sunk under Famine, and deliver'd all up on Discretion. The

Mercenary Soldiers of the *Florentines*, who already were all preparing to put them to the Sword, and then seize on their Estates, were strangely surpris'd, when they saw they were frustrated of their Pretensions by their General's Address.

And indeed, it was neither the Interest nor the *Genius* of *Lorenzo* to abandon *Volterra* to Plunder: For besides the Loss the *Florentine* Republick had suffer'd thereby, that Person would ever have been look'd on as Sanguinary, under whose Orders the Place had been desolated: Whereas by preserving it from the Licentiousness of the Soldiers, a Man might promise himself the Applause of all Degrees in the Republick, when the State of *Volterra* should have put a period to the Aversion which the *Florentines* harbour'd for its Inhabitants.

This Reflexion was so much the more solid, in that there was not at that time any People who with more levity skipp'd from Hatred, apparently irreconcilable, to Love, than that of *Florence*. And *Lorenzo*, who had already experienc'd it more than once, in the War against the *Pitti's*, did of his own proper motion an Action of Clemency to the Enemy, which he foresaw must needs be made up and reconcil'd in process of time, tho' it was not easie to bring it to pass in
the

the posture things then were reduc'd to.

The Army he commanded, was not wholly to be confided in by him; for besides the Regulated Troops, several Companies in it were of *Banditti*, who had not subjected themselves to the Fatigues of the Siege, but in the hopes they had entertain'd of Plunder. It could not otherwise be expected, but that these *Banditti* would contemn the Orders that should be given them to abstain from Pillage, and mutiny, so to have a Pretext to enter *Volterra* in a fury. This made their General use a Stratagem, which they too late found out, to prevent being deluded by it. As soon as he was inform'd, that the Townsmen resolv'd to hold out no longer, he feign'd a Desire to raise the Siege, and Cashier'd the Men for which the State had no longer any occasion. He caused a general Muster to be made of his Army, and reform'd such Companies as he distrusted. Their Commanders complain'd openly, That they were robb'd of a Pillage that was their due, and caus'd the Assault to be sounded: but they found Troops that *Lorenzo* had made sure of, posted upon the Avenues, that stopp'd them in their Carrier, and constrain'd them to be jogging back to *Romagna*, there to continue their Robberies.

Then did *Lorenzo de Medici* enter *Volterra*,
granting

granting the Inhabitants their Lives and Fortunes, and onely excepting out of the General Pardon ten or twelve of the most culpable, that were hang'd. He us'd the rest with all possible Moderation and Charity, and constrain'd them to praise him for having been their Deliverer, even against their Wills. The *Florentines* did for their part what *Lorenzo* had foreseen. His Conduct they blam'd at first, for having sav'd (as they said) their most irreconcilable Enemies: But they did not remain three days in so unreasonable an Opinion. They quickly own'd, That as it had been necessary to use Severity towards the *Volterrans*, when they pretended to cast off the Yoke, it was fitting he should change his Method, after the Inconveniencies of a long Siege had convinc'd them, by their own Experience, of the impossibility of avoiding the Domination and Authority of the *Florentines*. Thus that People ratified all that *Lorenzo* had done, and decreed him Honours at his Return, which he made appear how much the more worthy he was of, in that he refus'd them without Disdain, and without so much as Affectation.

Having settled his Reputation by Arms, he bent his Thoughts and Endeavours during Peace to the Establishment of his own Family.

mily) And as he had already two Sons
born, he design'd his Brother *Giuliano* for
an Ecclesiastick, tho' he had not any disposi-
tion thereunto: For bating the time he spent
in Turnaments, in which he commonly won
the Prize, Sloth and Impurities shared the
Hours of his Life. Otherwise, he was of
Stature tall, of an advantageous Shape, and
shew'd so much Wit and Courtlesie, that his
Brother imagin'd he would infallibly change,
if he came to be exalted to a Dignity which
requir'd his carrying himself with less Licen-
tiousness. That of Cardinal appear'd at that
time very commodious for this Design, for-
asmuch as the Popes having not yet be-
thought themselves of conferring it upon the
Children of Sovereigns and Imperial Princes,
Magnificence and Luxury had not then got
admittance into the Sacred College, nor did
they look upon those Vices as its Principal
Ornaments. Besides, the High-Priests had not
yet figured to themselves, that their Autho-
rity was wounded, in putting Affairs of mo-
ment into Deliberation in the Consistory,
and resolving upon them by the number of
Suffrages: From whence it came, that each
Cardinal had as much Business as was need-
ful for a Person of his Rank, not to be idle, if
he would weigh Matters justly and perti-
nently, about which he well knew his Advice
would be required.

Thus

Thus *Lorenzo* fell to Intriguing in the Concern of a Cap for his Brother, and employ'd such puissant Sollicitations to Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, as to have reason to believe, it would be granted him at the approaching Promotion: For he did not content himself with the good Offices of the Republick of *Florence*, whose Recommendation had ever been much regarded at the Court of *Rome*, in all such like Conditions of Affairs; but he likewise caused the King of *Naples*, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Genoueses* to intercede, whom his Holiness took a pride to oblige on all Occasions. Nevertheless, the Pope was inflexible, and refus'd the Cap in such terms, as took away all hopes of obtaining it, during his Life-time. *Lorenzo* nettl'd at the Affront, which was inseparable from such kind of Refusals, laid hold on the first Occasion that Fortune presented him withal to be reveng'd; and did it with a Success that had like to have ruin'd him and all his House, by the Intrigues and Snares I am going to represent.

Sixtus the Fourth had been a poor *Corde-lier* of *Savona*, to whom Cardinal *Bessarion's* Esteem had acquired the Dignity of Cardinal. The wonderful Talent and Knack he had at Preaching, and the extraordinary Zeal which carried him to maintain the Immaculate Conception

ception of the Mother of God, had insinuated him into the Party of those who valued themselves upon a particular, and (as I may say) singularis'd Devotion. Afterwards, he mounted to the See of St. Peter, by his Alliance with Cardinal Borgia, and the hopes the Latter had of obtaining the Abby of Subiaco, and other rich Benefices, for the acknowledgment of the Suffrages of a very powerful Faction in the Conclave, which he dispos'd of in Quality of Cardinal-Nephew.

After this, *Sixtus* never troubled his Head about concealing his Failures, as being no longer afraid of their injuring his Fortune. And it was observ'd, a little while after his coming to the Papacy, that he was agitated with a Warlike Spirit, directly contrary to his August and Heavenly Character, and possess'd with such an Ambition to aggrandize his Family, that he did not value violating the Laws, or conniving at the most extraordinary Licentiousness, provided he raised it out of the Dust, wherein it had been buried.

This Ambition seemed so much the more strange, in that it from the very beginning passed over the Barriers his Prédecessors had put to theirs, in what regarded their Relations: For, whereas they had rested satisfied with delivering them out of Misery, in case they were oppress'd, or in helping them to maintain

maintain their Family, by Consideration, if it was Illustrous; *Sixtus* his aim was nothing less, at his coming to the Papacy, than the preferring his to the Highest Dignities of Civil Life.

He had nine Nephews; namely, five of his own Name, *della Rovere*, who were Children of his three Brothers already dead; and four that went by the Names of *Riario*, *Basso*, and *Sanfonio*, which were the three Families into which his Sisters and one of his Nieces had married. Of the five Paternal Nephews, two of them were Sons of *Rafaele* his eldest Brother, namely, *Giuliano* and *Giovanni*. *Giuliano* had received the Cardinal's Cap that became vacant by his Uncle's Exaltation, and the Title of *Saint Peter in Bonds*. And because he then testified an Inclination to *France*, he was made Bishop of *Canpostras*, by which means he insinuated himself into the Amity of King *Louis* the Eleventh, who gave him many Benefices. *Giovanni* had acquired, at his Uncle's Cost, the Sovereignities of *Sora* and *Sinigaglia*, in *Umbria*; and had such a fair Prospect, as to fancy he was almost secure of succeeding in the Duchy of *Urbino*, by his Marriage with *Giovanna* only Daughter to the Famous *Pederico* the First, Duke of that State; for tho' *Pederico* had a Son call'd *Gaidubar*, that Son had so little Health,

Health, that the Physicians despair'd of his living long enough to leave any thing of his Name to Posterity. The Pope's third Nephew was his youngest Brother's onely Son, call'd *Leonardo*. He had the Trust of Prefect of *Rome*, and was ally'd to the House of *Naples*, by marrying a Natural Daughter of King *Ferrando*. The fourth and fifth Nephews, call'd *Christoforo* and *Domenico*, were Sons of his Holiness's third Brother, and posses'd the Seigneury of *Viconovo*, and several other Noble Lands towards the Coast of *Genova*.

But it was not the Excess onely of the Pope's Ambition, which rendred it insupportable; it being accompanied with a Cariccioufness of Humour, that was built neither upon Interest nor Probability: For, tho' *Giulius* in all appearance ought to have set a greater value on the five Nephews I have just mention'd, than on the four others, that onely appertain'd to him on the Womens side; tho' all manner of Reasons oblig'd him to do so; and tho' *Giuliano* alone, who was the eldest, was endued with all the wonderful Qualities which since rendred his Pontificate so famous, under the Name of *Giulio the Second*; most certain it is, that he could never obtain from his Uncle either to com-
port himself as Head of the House of Na

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Revere, or do the Functions of Cardinal-Nephew; or that his Brother, or three Cousins, should any more than he profit by what was refus'd him.

In a word, *Sixtus* his strongest Inclinations were ever in favour of his Sisters Children, and principally of the eldest, who had two, namely, *Piero*, and *Geronimo Riaria*. *Piero* had been a *Cordelier* as well as his Uncle, and deserved perhaps thereby the preference in his Friendship. He was made Cardinal the same day as *Giuliano*, but had the advantage over him, in being declared Cardinal-Nephew, and carrying the Bishoprick of *Trevisa*, which *Giuliano* had begg'd. Afterwards, he had the richest Benefices conferr'd on him, that fell vacant; and so powerful was he rendred, that he had the greatest Train of any of the Sacred College. But his Defects were so great, that Fortune alone could neither correct nor cover them: for, on the one side, he was so prodigal, that the Revenues of the Papacy could hardly cope with his hideous Expences; and in his time it was they first saw at *Rome*, since the Lord-ing Days of the Ancient *Cæsars*, a Man who consumed in two years space Two hundred thousand Crowns, which he had got from his Uncle, and Sixty thousand he had borrow'd. He obtain'd for himself the General Legantine

Legantine Power in Italy, and visited by turns in that Quality the Princes and Republicks, that his Splendor and Magnificence might be the more seen and ador'd: but he had so weakned his Health by the multitude and excess of his Debauches, that he had almost wholly lost the use of the most necessary Parts of the Body, at Five and twenty years of age.

Contrariwise, his Brother *Geronimo*, on whom the Pope had cast his Eyes, to make him his Principal Heir, was more severe, and had no fondness for any other Divertisement than that of Hunting. He loved Action to that degree, that alter his rate of talking, there seem'd not to be any Affairs in the Ecclesiastick State, of moment sufficient to employ him. He would needs manage all, and was vex'd at those who dutifully offer'd to ease him; but in return, he burnt with the same Fire as his Uncle; and the Sovereignty of *Forli*, which he had purchased so dear, had onely serv'd to give him the greater disgust to a Private Life. And indeed, he had conceived so much Aversion to it, that he had prevail'd with the Pope to create Cardinals *Geronimo Basso* his Aunt's Son, and *Rafaele Sansevero* his Sister's Son; and could not endure his other Relations, whom he was constrained to leave in the Obscurity of

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their Birth. He had been so cajoll'd by the Duke of *Milan*, that this Prince had match'd him with *Caterina Sforza* his Natural Daughter; and the Pope, in consideration of this Alliance, had sent on the very Wedding-day a Cardinals Cap to the youngest of the Legitimate Sons of that Duke, call'd *Ascanio*.

Riario had nothing more to do to compleat his Establishment, than to set footing in *Umbria*, from whence it would have been easie for him to spread himself into *Romagna*, and perhaps likewise into *Tuscany*; but as he had no Troops, and that a great deal of Money was needful for the necessary Levies, his Uncle made no scruple of setting to sale the Offices of the Chancery, and the Court of *Rome*, which under the preceding Popes had ever been the Reward of Ability, or Virtue. He created five Colleagues, through whose Hands all Expeditions of the *Dutary* must pass successively; and nine new Offices in the Apostolick Chamber, that were purchas'd at excessive Rates. He made no Reflexion either upon the ignominious Commerce he was going to introduce, on the honest Liberty he was about to strip the Court of *Rome* of, or the Inconveniencies that would ensue from the time when a Stop would be put to the Labour and Industry of the most refined *Italians*; by retrenching gratuitous Dignities,

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which

which serv'd them for a Bait, and enkindled their Emulation. He augmented the ancient Imposts, and created new ones. He created extraordinary Tenths, and likewise brought an Army on foot, whereof the Cardinal *de San Piero* accepted the Legation, rather to satisfie his Warlike Humour, than out of kindness to *Riario*, whose Prosperity he could not look upon without Envy.

Federigo d'Urbino was requested to accept of being General; and to engage him to act the more heartily, they changed his Generality and Quality of Count, into that of Duke. They diminish'd the Duties and Arrears he Annually paid to the Apostolick Chamber, in Fealty for *Urbino*. They fetch'd him to *Rome*, to receive the Honours commonly paid to Crowned Heads; and they caus'd him to go with the Cardinal of *Sr. Peter in Bonds*, to invest the City of *Loddi*, it being design'd for the first Flower of *Riario's* imaginary Monarchy. *Loddi* held out, and was taken by Assault, yet without being plunder'd: They proceeded no farther than Decimating the Inhabitants, and sav'd their Estates in consideration of him who was to be their Master.

The City of *Spoleto* had almost the same Fate, and was subdu'd with so much the more ease, in that those of *Riario's* Faction

prevailed over the other Burgers, who had set themselves at Liberty; but they met with more Resistance at *Citta di Castello*, because *Nicola Vitelli*, the Proprietor, shew'd more Resolution, and was better assisted. His particular Union with *Lorenzo de Medici* made him implore the Succours of the *Flarentine* Commonwealth, which refus'd him it publickly, at the same time that it granted it in private, because *Lorenzo* on the one side would not come to an open Rupture with the Pope, and on the other, was overjoy'd to revenge himself of the Affront he had receiv'd, by supporting a Just Cause, and diverting the Danger wherewith his Country was threatned, supposing *Riario* should seize on *Umbria*.

Thus, the new Duke *d' Urbino* and the Cardinal-Legate were constrain'd to frame a Regular Siege before *Citta di Castello*, and see the bravest Troops they had rais'd, moulder away before that Place. However, they gain'd it at length, tho' it was not till after three Months Circumvallation, and on Conditions more honourable to *Vitelli* than to the Besiegers, since they were reduc'd to let him continue still in the Place, in Quality of a Private Gentleman, by purchasing at a dear Rate the Lands he possess'd in the Neighbourhood. He had the Value of them paid him

him down on the nail, before the Capitulation was executed; and this ready Money enabled him to recover some time after, by Surprise, *Citta di Castello*, to drive shamefully thence *Riario's* Garrison, and raze the Citadel they had begun to build in that Place.

The Pope, who had been long enough *Vitelli's* Friend, to know him to the very bottom of his Soul, and judge, that he would not have been capable of making so subtle a Treaty as his was, or recovering so soon what he had lost, if *Lorenzo de Medici* had not assisted and prompted him under-hand: the Pope, I say, conceiv'd such a spite against *Lorenzo*, as he could not dissemble: So difficult is it to disguise the Passions, when they are arriv'd to an Excess. He fell into a kind of Frantick Fit, at the first news that was brought him thereof; he turn'd pale with Fury; he wept; he lost his Stomach, and remain'd some days without daring to hold a Consistory.

To the *Florentines* he complain'd thereof, in Terms highly injurious to *Lorenzo*, which menac'd him with something very hideous and fatal: but the Re-establishment of *Vitelli* had been manag'd with so much Cunning and Secresie, that the *Nuncio* residing at *Florence* could never produce against *Lorenzo* other than such weak Conjectures as

sell presently of themselves. Thus all the Satisfaction the Pope obtain'd, was made up onely of most humble and obedient Compliments; and *Lorenzo* was absolv'd after a manner sufficiently glorious to confound his Accusers. *Virehi* remain'd peaceable in *Citta-di Castello*, the Pope having no more Armies for the Besieging it again; and his Holiness, in whom this Disgrace had onely augmented the Desire of aggrandizing *Riario*, understood, that he was to proceed in that Design by such ways as created fewer Enviars, and were not so subject to Obstructions.

The first that offer'd it self, was that of the Acquisition of *Faenza*; and Fortune onely started it, to have the pleasure of shamming *Sixtus* once again. This City serv'd exactly for a Center to his old Design, for that it was situated in the midst of the Government, which he pretended to found for his Nephew, in the Provinces of *Romagna*, *Tuscany*, and *Umbria*. It had already, for several Ages, belong'd to the House of the *Manfredi's*: But *Astorre*, who then held it with the Title of Sovereignty, had been so prodigal in his Expences, that his Revenue being incapable of paying the Interest of what he ow'd, his Creditors had had recourse to the Apostolick Chamber. and had caus'd him to be summon'd in Quality of one owing Fealty to the Holy

Holy See, for the being reimburs'd their Principal.

Astorre appear'd by his Attorney, and desir'd time. But as his Spoil was so considerable, as to oblige his Judges to become Parties against him, his Estate was call'd in by Out-ery, and adjudg'd to his Creditors for Thirty thousand Crowns, in case they were not paid in forty days after the signification of the Sentence.

The Creditors had agreed with the Pope to make over their Rights to *Riario* for the like Sum; but *Lorenzo* had no sooner notice of it, but he resolv'd to break the Bargain. Not but that he foresaw, there needed nothing more to make the Pope's Fury burst out, and hamper himself in a Business that would last as long as the Life of him he was going to shock. Nevertheless he proceeded in it; whether he thought he had already so incens'd Pope *Sixtus*, that no Measures were any longer to be kept with him; or that he accounted the Acquisition of *Faenza* by the *Riario's* so prejudicial to *Florence*, that not onely his Riches and his Life, but also the State, were to be hazarded for the preventing of it. And indeed he underhand procured People to let *Astorre* know, That if he would treat with them, and give them a Procuration in right Form, they would endeavour

deavour to acquit it, without making him lose his Sovereignty. *Astorre* receiv'd them with open Arms, abandoning to them all his Revenues for Twenty years, in consideration of an Annual Pension of Two thousand Ducats, on condition to discharge it, and delivering a Power, by whose favour they went immediately to summon his Creditors to receive their Reimbursement.

The Pope having not in the least dream'd, that *Lorenzo* durst provoke him once again, did not believe that *Astorre's* Engagists acted in good earnest. And as his Pericranium was easily possess'd with certain things, he imagin'd that *Astorre* had made use of this Slight, to obtain some days longer Respite. To no purpose was *Riario's* Representation, That it was convenient to have recourse to some Formalities and Quirks of Law, for the avoiding the Signification of the Engagists; he continu'd fix'd to have the Creditors taken at their Word, so to render their pretended Collusion the more ridiculous. But when the Act of their Consent was taken, and they pressed to agree on the Day and Hour of Payment; when they had given them the Choice of *Species*, and told them out the Money; then the Pope's Hatred against *Lorenzo* broke out so much the more, in that he had retrench'd himself of all Judiciary means

to hinder the Reimbursement. However, it became him to put a good face on't in Publick, and chearfully conclude the Affair, waiting for a fitter Opportunity to make *Lorenzo* feel the Recoil and Counter-stroke of the Acquisition he had prevented.

Here would be the Place to relate the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, which was onely the Product of those two bold Actions *Lorenzo de Medici* had newly done. But *Politian*, the greatest Humanist, and a Man the most skill'd in Polite Learning since its first Re-establishment in *Europe*; hath given us so fine and pathetick a Description of it, that it is almost impossible to add any thing thereunto. Thus I should be obliged to transcribe it Word for Word, or abridge it, as the Historians of *Florence* since have done, without excepting *Francisco Nero* the Lawyer, who exercis'd his Talent upon the same Subject, by Queen *Catharine of Medicis* her Order. But as this is denied me by *Procopius*, I can adventure no farther than to set down here such Particulars of that Conspiracy as have been omitted, and borrow from History some Incidents, necessary for the weaving them all into a Piece.

Francesco Pazzi was such another Man, as *Catiline* represented by *Salust*. He had all the good and bad Qualities of that Roman

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Adventurer, and principally that of not having blunted in Debauchery either the Vivacity of his excellent Wit, or his innate enterprising Humour. His Family was reckon'd among the Best of *Florence*, and his Father left him vast Riches, which onely supply'd for some few years the Luxury of his Table, and his other Diversions. The impossibility of borrowing anew, reduc'd him to leave his Native Country, and go to *Rome*, where the most extraordinary Genius he had at inventing new Impositions, under plausible Pretexts, first introduc'd him into the Knowledge, and then into the Pope's Intimacy and Trust. By means of this Familiarity, *Pazzi* stepping from Concerns of the Bank into those of Policy, and seeing the Pope in the utmost rage against the House of *Medici*, and in the fatal Disposition that Hatred must have attain'd to, for the becoming inveterate and irreconcilable, he propos'd to him the exterminating it, by an Attempt that might instate the Family of the *Riario's* in the Place the *Medici's* held at *Florence*. I should not dare to say this, unless I had *Omphrius* for my Warrantee, a Learned *Augustin* Friar, entirely devoted to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*: That *Sisto* embrac'd the Overture, on condition, that after the Murther of *Lorenzo & Giuliano de Medici*,

a kind of Government should be settled at Florence, in which all things should be regulated according to the Intention of the Holy See; and that the Pope, to avoid the Scandal all *Christendom* would receive, if it appear'd, that his Holiness, who ought only to harbour Thoughts of Gentleness and Loyalty, after his Example from whom he deriv'd all his Authority, had trolld in his Understanding so black a Crime, and of so long Execution, he caus'd the Model of it to be drawn up by his Nephew *Riario*; and commanded him in secret to concert it with *Pazzi*, and take all the Measures necessary for the bringing it about.

Riario and *Pazzi* agreed, That the Enterprize was of such a Consequence, that the bare Forces of the Ecclesiastick State were not sufficient to buy it up; and that before all things, it was necessary to hook the Duke of *Milan* and the King of *Naples* into the Design. The Duke of *Milan* would have been much more proper for such a Business, by reason of the Neighbourhood of that Dukedom, and of the easiness of receiving thence Provisions necessary for the surprizing *Florence*, and carrying on the War. But this Prince had the Imputation of keeping his Word with so little exactness, that there was no likelihood of embarking him in an Affair,

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of which he would have become the Master, as soon as he should have been trusted with the Secret; besides, he was so fickle in matter of Aversion, as well as of Friendship, that there was no relying on his not treating with his Capital Enemy, an hour after having conjured his Ruine.

The King of *Naples* was farther distant from *Florence*, and more bewildred in Domestic Matters; but, in recompense, had a Sanguinary Disposition, and by consequence more susceptible of the Design they pretended to inspire him with. Moreover, he hated the House of *Medici*, since it had the Confidence to sound him upon a Match of *Lorenzo* with one of his Legitimate Daughters, before he married *Clarice Orsini*. In short, there were Troops at *Naples*, which were to be Shipp'd in order to their putting in Refreshments into *Santori*, the Siege of which Place the *Turks* had been constrain'd to raise; and those Troops might advance towards *Tuscany* without giving suspicion, because the Patrimony of *St. Peter* was bound to defray part of them.

Whereupon, the Pope was besought to send to *Naples* such a trusty Man, as should so sweetly tickle King *Ferrand's* Humour in the most sensible part, by persuading him, that the Scope of the Revolution they meant

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to introduce into the *Florentine* Republick, was onely to re-establish the Kingdom of *Estruria*, whose Scepter should be sway'd by his Natural Daughter, for whom he had more affection than for the rest of his Children; that might make him consent to what was desired of him. The Emissary that was dispatch'd to him, push'd on the Point much further: for, to hamper him in such manner as that this timorous Prince might have no pretext to go back, he made him send the Duke of *Calabria*, his eldest Son, into *Tuscany*, under the Sham of soliciting new Assignations of the Arrears of Pay owing him from the Commonwealth of *Florence*; but, in effect, to be upon the Spot when the Conspiracy should break forth, and to fix by his Authority, and the Renown of his Valour, those who had not yet determined what they had to do, or else to draw in the Principal of the *Florentine* Nobility, who would refuse declaring against the House of *Medici*, unless they saw they were abetted by a Prince of that Consideration.

The Duke of *Calabria* began the Journey that was enjoyn'd him, without knowing what he was going about, they having judg'd him too Sincere and Generous to take upon him so shameful a Commission, if he had penetrated into the Mystery of the Business.

ness. He was onely given to understand, That he went to Head those Forces, whom the Pope had given good Quarters to in *Romagna*, that so his Presence might oblige them to live with more reservedness. But *Riario's* and *Pazzi's* extended still much farther. The Cardinal-Nephew's continual Riots had squatted him in his Coffin at twenty eight years old; and the regret *Riario* had for his Brother's untimely Death, did not hinder him from endeavouring to keep his Benefices and Dignities in his Family. To that intent, having not yet any Boys out of the Cradle, he bethought himself of making young *Raffaele Sansonio*, his Sisters Son, go by the Name of *Riario*, and presented him to the Pope to fill the Place of Cardinal-Nephew, tho' he was as yet but seventeen years of age. The Pope, who could deny *Riario* nothing, immediately preferr'd that young Man into the Rank he desired; and *Riario*, to take advantage of the Good he had newly procur'd him, sent him into *Tuscany*, under the masque of perfecting his Studies at *Pisa*, which for Law at that time was the most celebrated University in *Italy*. But in truth, he had laid his Measures so well, that the young Cardinal *Riario* was to take a Journey to *Florence*, without any other Intention on his part, than of viewing that fair City; tho'

Riario's

Riccio's aim was for him to be there just at the time the Conspiracy should be executed; that so his Presence might animate such of the Plotters as were irresolv'd or fearful; and bring all the Authority, which *Pazzi* judg'd necessary, for the Consummation of the Conspiracy.

There remained nothing more than the gaining *Francesco Salviati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*; by reason of using the Credit he had at *Florence*, and to have upon all Events and Occasions a Retreat into his Palace. *Old Pazzi* took upon him this Commission, and perform'd it almost without any trouble; by reason that the Resemblance of their Antours and Fortune had engag'd them; in so particular an Union, that they blindly espous'd one anothers Passions and Caprices. They were both of an age, and they were created Knights on the same day. They made no Profession of any Virtue, either Moral or Christian; they plaid perpetually at Dice, swore confoundedly, and shew'd no respect to Religious Masters.

But besides this Society of Debauchery and Riot, two Reasons there were, that fastned the Archbishop of *Pisa* on the Undertaking. First, Because that in the pursuit of the Archbishoprick, which he had got by Cabal, by Blattery, and other irregular Courses, which

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were then more in use in *Italy*, than they had been for nine or ten Ages afore, this Prelate had met with no greater Opposition than what came from those two Brothers *de Medici*, tho' he had surmounted them at length, by the *Pazzi's* Credit at the Court of *Rome*.

The other Reason was, That to noose this retchless and voluptuous Spirit in an Enterprize which requir'd so extraordinary an Application, they were forc'd to sooth him with the Honour he would acquire by declaring himself the Deliverer of his Country, and assuring him, moreover, of a Cardinal's Cap at the first Promotion.

Now, they had nothing more to do, than to assemble, in a Place convenient, for the drawing up the Model of the Conspiracy; and *Giacomo Pazzi* offer'd for that purpose his House of Pleasure at *Montuglio*, where the Principal Accomplices met, under shew of a Hunting-Match. There it was concluded, That *Francesco Pazzi*, who had lately insinuated himself into the Confidence of *Giuliano de Medici*, through the Hopes he had given him of favouring him with a Lady whom he extremely lov'd, should mind him to persuade *Lorenzo*, that tho' their House had no great reason to be satisfied with the Pope, yet it was becomingly handsom, considering the First Rank he held at *Florence*, to treat

treat the Cardinal-Nephew, tho' it were onely to testifie to the People, That his Re-sentment was quite over, for the Rebuff he had met with at *Rome*.

They supposed *Lorenzo de Medici* would immediately take the Cue, because they knew, the two Brothers lived in such Unity, that the one had no sooner explain'd his Mind upon Honest, and even Indifferent Things, than the other consented to them: Besides, his Humour was so naturally prone to Magnificency, and to paying that sort of Devoirs, that Decorum and Civility exacted from Persons elevated above the Common Rank, that there needed nothing else to dispose him efficaciously thereto, than the furnishing him with the Occasion. Thus, as they suspected it would be in one of their Country-Houses that these two Brothers would receive the Cardinal-Nephew, to make him the better relish the Divertisements of the Season; it was concluded, that his young Eminency should be conducted by one half of the Conspirators, who should snap the Opportunity of assassinating the two Brothers in the midst of the Feast; while the other half, that were to stay behind in the City, should with the Archbishop's assistance excite the Sedition, and endeavour to riot the People, by making their

Ears ring with the pleasing Word of *LIBERTY*.

Francesco Pazzi perform'd his Commission in the very first Visit he paid to *Giuliano de Medici*: For, after the Compliment at entrance, he civilly besought him, with a jocund tone, to tell him the Day that his Brother and he had chosen for the Regale of the Cardinal-Nephew, because his Uncle being willing to do them the Honour of being the first to treat his Eminency, was preparing to invite him on the morrow. *Giuliano* was a little surpris'd, and blush'd at this Question, by reason of the Coldness that was between his Brother and the *Riario's* on his account; however, he made answer, That his Brother had not as yet spoke to him of it, expecting the Cardinal-Nephew to tarry some time at *Florence*; but that nevertheless they would that Night discourse the Point together. And indeed, *Lorenzo* had no sooner notice that the *Pazzi* were to entertain the Cardinal-Nephew, but he thought it behov'd his Honour to be beforehand with them. He took his Measures with his Brother for that purpose, and gave the necessary Orders towards the preparation of a magnificent Feast in the House of *Frejola*, which he judg'd more commodious than his other Seats of Pleasure. The Cardinal-Nephew was invited, his Day ask'd,

ask'd, and he oblig'd to appoint it, after he had for a long while very handsomly excus'd his so doing; and *Giuliano de Medici* let *Francesco Pazzi* know it.

The Conspirators made all ready with so much the more ease, in that the very Persons they meant to assassinate, furnish'd them in the nick of time with all the Precautions they need'd to keep, by informing them after what manner *Lorenzo de Medici* pretend'd to do the Honours of his House. But the Day being come, *Giuliano* was seisd with such a Desfluxion upon his Eyes, and with so troublesom an Overflowing of Flegm upon the Stomach, that it was impossible for him to quit his Bed. *Lorenzo*, seeing his Mien strangely alter'd, was far from pressing him to rise; but sent for the Physicians, and conjur'd them to have a care of a Health that was no less precious to him than his own; taking Horse immediately, to get to *Frejola*, before the Company he was there to entertain.

He came out to meet the Cardinal, and accosting him with a Countenance on which something sad was easie to be discern'd, he begg'd his Pardon for being there alone to pay him that Office. He accus'd the Accident that had befallen his Brother; he express'd his Circumstances in such Terms, as

almost madd'd the Conspirators, as acquainting them by what whimsical Adventure Fortune had robb'd them of one of their Victims. But as there was no remedy, they were forc'd to compose their Looks like Men who had no other Thoughts than those of Recreation. At the very first they had agreed not to execute their Enterprize by halves, because that one of the two Brothers remaining alive, would have been sufficient to maintain the Advantages of his House in the Republick of *Florence*. Thus, the *Pazzi's* having a little recollected themselves from the Amazement in which they were plung'd by *Giuliano's* absence, had nothing else to do, than dispatch one of their Accomplices to the Archbishop of *Pisa*, to let him know the Disappointment, that so there might be no unseasonable and ineffectual Commotions in the City.

The Feast at *Frejola* was very Magnificent, and *Lorenzo de Medici* spar'd nothing of what might serve to persuade the Cardinal-Nephew into an Opinion of the profound Respect he had for the Pope, notwithstanding all past Transactions. The Cardinal-Nephew, who knew nothing of the Personage he was put upon acting, had the less trouble to commend the Delicacy of the Meats, and the Exactness wherewith they were served. The
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Conspirators were not able to constrain themselves with so much Artifice, but that it would have been easie for *Lorenzo* to observe that they were extremely unhing'd, if his sollicitude for his Brother's Illness had left him all the freedom of Mind that was natural to him, and if he had had less application to what he did. He acquitted his Share of it with much politeness, and the Cardinal-Nephew departed from *Frejola*, equally satisfied with the Courtesie and Good Chear of his Harbinger.

By this Disappointment the Conspirators were not discourag'd from their Attempt: And as *Giuliano's* Fluxion was spent in a few days, they fancied his Brother and he wou'd not fail of being on the *Sunday* following, the twenty sixth of *April*, at the Great Church, tho' it were onely to accompany the Cardinal-Nephew, who meant to see its Ceremonies. Upon this, they fram'd a second Project, for the assassinating the two Brothers *de Medici* in the Temple. The Impiety of the Plot, besides the Majesty of the Place, could not be more execrable; since they took for a Signal the august moment of the most awful among the *Christian* Mysteries; I mean, the time when the Priest should lift up the Host. Then *Antonio Volterra*, and the Governour of the young Prin-

ces Pazzi, call'd *Signiore Stephano*, engag'd to kill *Lorenzo de Medici* with their Poignards, while *Francesco Pazzi* and *Bernardo Bandini* should by the same Course dispatch *Giuliano*. The Archbishop of *Pisa*, follow'd by *Giacopo Poggio*, Son to the Tutor of the two Brothers *de Medici*, and accompanied by the greatest number of the Conspirators, and all *Salviati's* Kindred, that were in great Consideration, undertook to seise at the same time the Town-house, under pretext of visiting *Cesare Petruzzi*, who lodg'd there in Quality of *Gonfaloniere*. And old *Giacopo Pazzi*, at the very instant he should have word brought him of the two Brothers Death, was to take Horse, adorn'd with his Collar, and march directly to the principal Place, where all the Friends of his Family should wait for him in the posture of Armed Men, to afford Assistance to the Archbishop of *Pisa*, if he stood in need of any, against the Town-house.

For the better security, *Francesco Pazzi* would needs know of *Giuliano de Medici*, whether his Brother and he would not be at the Temple; and *Giuliano* made him answer, That they would not fail of paying their Attendance. And indeed, the Hour and Day being come, *Lorenzo* was there one of the first, as designing to receive the Sacraments

ments of *Penitence* and the *Eucharist* : and the two Men appointed to assassinate him, went and planted themselves by him. But they had already begun to sing the Anthems Introductory to the Mass, when as *Giuliano* did not yet appear ; whether his Good *Genius* had made him change his Design, or that he had spent too much time in Dressing: The Conspirators were very uneasie on this account, and they already fancied their Enterprise disappointed, because that failing the second time, it was morally impossible to keep it secret, considering the multitude of those that were privy to the Plot: When that *Francesco Pazzi* bethought himself of a Trick, which accordingly did his Business. He took his Companion *Bandini* along with him, and scour'd immediately to *Giuliano's* Apartment-door. They found him busie a curling his Hair, and saluted him with a Countenance that could be neither more jocund, nor more calm. They check'd him after a merry, gay, and facetious manner, for his Sloth ; and *Francesco Pazzi* taking him aside, told him, his Mistress was at Church, so beauteous, and well dress'd, as challeng'd the ogling of all the young Gentlemen. This Hint entirely vanquish'd *Giuliano's* Resistance, and surmounted the last Obstacle that his good Demon interpos'd to his

Misfortune. He made ready with all diligence; and those two Murderers, under pretence of seconding his Impatience, serv'd him for *Valets de Chambre*. Then they took him under the Arms, and conducted him in that posture to the Church, where they were no sooner arriv'd, but the Priest lift up the Adorable Host, and unwittingly gave a Signal expected by the Conspirators, for the committing the most hideous of Sacrileges.

Pazzi and *Bandini* stabb'd *Giuliano* to death with their Poigniards, and did the like to *Nori* his Domestick, as he was going to draw his Sword. *Lorenzo* had not come off at a cheaper rate, had the others saln upon him at the same Instant: But as his Murderers were not so diligent as his Brother's, whom he already perceiv'd they had Poigniardeed, that sad Spectacle made him draw his Dagger with his Right Hand, and wrap up his Left Arm in his Cloke. When he was attack'd by *Antonio de Volterra*, and by *Steffano* the Priest, he defended himself with a Presence of Mind that wrought his Safety: For, tho' at the very first he receiv'd a Wound in the Neck, from whence there gush'd a great deal of Blood, he parry'd so long, that his Friends, who being back'd by some courageous Priests, had the leisure to joyn him, and cant him into a Vestry, that was accidentally open, shutting

shutting the Door upon him before *Bandini* could reach him, who ran after to dispatch him out-right. In the mean while, the Archbishop of *Pisa* came to the Town-house, and ask'd to speak with the *Gonfaloniere*. The Porter made answer, He had order to let no Christian in, for that the *Gonfaloniere* was newly set down to Dinner with the Captains of the Wards, whom he had invited. The Archbishop was a little startled at this Accident, which he had not foreseen; and making use of the first Sham that came into his Head, he replied to the Porter, That he must necessarily speak with the *Gonfaloniere* at that very instant, as bringing him Orders from the Pope, that could not be one moment deferred. The Porter did so much the more easily believe what the Archbishop told him, in that he saw an extraordinary Attendance; and without making further Reflexion, went to tell the *Gonfaloniere*, That the Archbishop of *Pisa* had a Brief to deliver him from his Holiness. The *Gonfaloniere* thought it very strange, that this Prelate should come and importune him at a time, when People are not wont to treat of Serious Matters. However, as it was unhandson to deny him Admittance, he rose from Table, went to receive him, and led him into an Upper Room. This was done so in a trice,
because

because the *Gonfaloniere* was afraid of making his Guests wait, that the Archbishop had not the leisure either to resolve in himself, or to agree with his Accomplices, after what manner he should back the Lie they had paum'd upon the Porter. From thence it came, that when the *Gonfaloniere*, after the first Compliments, ask'd him for the Brief he brought from the Pope, he not onely made no positive Answer, but furthermore, the Crime he was involv'd in presenting it self then to his Imagination, with all its Blackness, disturb'd him in such manner, that he cou'd not forbear blushing and turning pale at the same time, nor shewing by frightful Looks, and a stammering ruff'd Speech, part of what he had in his Mind.

Then the *Gonfaloniere*, a Man exceeding distrustful, (as are commonly all *Florentines*) suspected that Ambuscades were laid for him; and leaving the Prelate dumb and astonish'd, rush'd out of the Chamber, to call the Soldiers which the Republick maintain'd for the Guard of his Person, and of the Town-House. *Poggio*, who went in with the Archbishop, wou'd have with-held the *Gonfaloniere*; but this Magistrate being stronger than he, knock'd him down with his Fist, and made but two Leaps to get into the Dining-room, and give his Guests notice

notice to seek their Safety in the Dungeon. He made them pop into it, and stood upon the Steps, to defend and ward the Passage with a Spit, which meer Hazard put into his Hands.

The Conspirators that attended the Archbishop, out of respect staid all at the bottom of the great Stair-case, except *Poggio*, who had taken him under the Arms, to help and usher him up; and had divided themselves into the Hall of the first Story, which serv'd for the Meetings of the respective City-Companies or Guilds, for fear their Multitude should give Umbrage, if they were perceiv'd all together. Whereupon, a Circumstance is to be remark'd, which having been omitted by the *Florentine* Historians, renders their Narration obscure and defectuous; namely, That the *Gonfaloniere's*, when they entred upon the Magistracy, were wont to cause all the Wards of the Town-house Locks to be chang'd: And *Cesare Petruzzi*, who had then that Character, and valu'd himself upon being an Engineer, had caus'd them to be made with so much Artifice, that the Doors, upon the least touch, shut of themselves, but could not be open'd without the Keys, which by consequence remain'd ever tied to the Porters Girdles.

Thus, in the very moment that the *Gonfaloniere*

falconiere call'd for Help with an hideous Outcry, the Hall-doors of the first Story came to be shut up, and the Conspirators caught (as it were) in a Trap. The People, naturally inclin'd to Superstition, were afterwards persuaded that the thing happen'd miraculously; and *Lorenzo de Medici* did not trouble his Head much to undeceive them, because it was for his advantage, that his Country-men were of opinion, that Heaven concern'd it self most visibly in preserving the Race of *Medici*. But it's more safe to attribute the Cause of this Event either to some one of the *Gonfaloniere's* Domesticks, who having his Mind less possess'd with Fear than his Camrades, bethought himself of pulling to the Doors; or to the Tumult which arose in the Town-house, sufficiently great to make upon the Doors a Motion capable of shutting of themselves; or to the Conspirators, who at that very instant they heard the *Gonfaloniere* call out to Arms, imagin'd they were betray'd, that their Conspiracy was discover'd, that the Archbishop of *Pisa* was a Prisoner, and that People were coming to them to seize upon their Persons. Thus the Care of their own Preservation, banishing from their Minds the Design of making themselves Masters of the Town-Hall, they now thought of nothing but of
bar.

barricadoing, and making a stout Defence, till their Companions, who were in the great Church, having massacred the two *Medici's*, or those that were to secure the Publick Place under the Orders of Chevalier *Pazzi*, could run to disengage them.

Not to determine any thing in this Case, There they remain'd coop'd up, till *Lorenzo de Medici*, having been taken out of the Vestry, where the Priests had bound up his Wound, was brought back to his own House, by a great multitude of People, of all the Orders of the City, and principally of the *Mobile*. From thence he caus'd himself to be carried to the Town-House, where all the Magistrates were immediately conven'd. Not very long was the Deliberation, because the *Medici's* Friends having had the leisure to send unto all Parts, to inform the Citizens of what occur'd, they had exaggerated *Giuliano's* Murther, and the Peril with which the Commonweal was threatned, with Terms so pathetick, that the whole Town had taken Arms, and the Boldest had seis'd on all Avenues of the Guild Hall, setting Guards in the Great Place which was before it. Thus, there was nothing else heard from all Parts, than a Confusion of Voices, which demand'd a good and speedy Justice: And as it was not in the least to be deferr'd, without seeing the

the Great Gate shut up by the number of those who offer'd themselves to serve for Executioners, the Magistrates caus'd Ropes to be fastned to the Bars of the Windows, where the unhappy *Poggio* was the first hang'd, and then the other Plotters; who seeing on one side the Fury of the People, extraordinarily animated against them, and the Doors broke down by Order of the present Magistrates, yielded themselves up on Discretion, because they cou'd not do otherwise, at least without killing one another.

Never Spectacle was so hideous, and yet never Spectacle wrought less Compassion. The Malefactor was scarce half strangled, when they cut the Rope for him, to make room for another; the Body fell down, and the People immediately tore it to pieces. Not a Man of them was exempt from the Punishment; and all the Favour that was shewn to the most Illustrious among the Accomplices, was to execute them the last. *Francesco Pazzi*, the Author of the Conspiracy, who had wounded himself dangerously in striking *Giuliano de Medici*, could not get out of the Town, and was fain to hide himself in his Uncle's House, where he was discover'd by a Maid, and was conducted to the Town-House.

The Curious observ'd, That he spoke not
so

so much as one word, and there appear'd not any Mark of Reluctance in his Countenance, but onely the Signs of a most disdainful and lofty Fierceness. He was hang'd at the Window that is just above the great Gate, and there immediately appear'd the Archbishop of *Pisa* to keep him Company. They first induc'd him to discover the whole Train of the Conspiracy, and to write it down, and sign it with his own Hand; which that Prelate was prevail'd with to do, upon a belief, that the Magistrates coming to be mov'd by this Effect of Condescendency, would shew respect to his Character, and abate something of their Severity. Yet he was serv'd like the rest; and whether they had a mind to add a peculiar Infamy to the Punishment that was common to him with his Accomplices; or, the ardour of the Hangman that executed him was too great to examine what he did; or, in short, that they were glad to put that Affront upon the Court of *Rome*, in order to punish it at least in that manner, for having been fingering in so detestable an Action: This unfortunate Prelate was noos'd up in the Pontifical Robes he chanced to have on. The nearest Spectators of his Execution observ'd, That when he was turn'd off, he fastned his Teeth in *Pazzi's* Body that hung at the next Bar, and bit

bit his left Pap with so much fury, that the Executioner had much ado to make him let go his hold.

His Brother, and Cousin-german, who went both by the Name of *Giacopo Salviati*, were truss'd up by him: but the old Chevalier *Pazzi*, advancing into the Publick Place, to raise and mutiny the People, seeing they listen'd to him no otherwise than by way of derision, and began already to surround him, and pelt him with Stones from off the Houses tops, spurr'd on his Horse, that was indeed a vigorous Steed, made his way through, and got happily out through the Gate *della Croce*: But he retiring towards the Mountains, and having no Money about him, was constrain'd at two days end to take Refuge in a Cottage, to get some Food, and sell his Horse. He was known by the Peasant he address'd himself to; and that Man being not altogether rustick and dull, immediately harbour'd a Design upon the Person of his Guest, for the gaining the Reward which the Magistrates had appointed for him that should bring him in. He receiv'd him with great appearance of Humanity, and made him the best Chear he could. He perswaded him to stay in the same Place, while he went to sell his Horse; but in stead of performing what he promis'd, he went and discover'd him

him to the Magistrates of *Florence*, who sent immediately to take him up. His Process was perform'd in the wonted Formality: and flattering himself with the same Hopes that made the Archbishop of *Pisa* reveal all the Secrets of the Conspiracy, he confirm'd that Prelate's Deposition, and added thereto the Names of the Accomplices, and the Share that each had had in it. In a word, he did all that Cunning and a base Pusillanimity inspir'd him with, to save his Life: But when he saw that they proceeded, however, to condemn him to the Gallows, and that they sent him a Priest to prepare him for Death, he laid aside the Masque, and would not hearken to any other Sentiments than those which Corrupted Nature suggests to Mad and Desperate Persons. He obstinately refus'd to die as a *Christian*, and di'd invoking the Devil. Yet the Magistrates were not wanting to see him buried in a Church in *Florence*, where his Ancestors had been Interr'd; but the Rabble, whose Fury was augmented by the last Contempt which the Malefactor shew'd to the Holy Sacraments, unearth'd his Body, and threw it in the Laystall; from whence Justice caus'd it to be taken, and secretly buried in a Church-yard: But this onely serv'd to renew the Tumult; for, discovering the Place where he was, they

open'd the Ditch with their Nails, took out his Carcass, dragg'd it along the Streets, and after the men were grown weary of disfiguring it, they abandon'd it to Children, who threw it into the River *Arno*.

Rinato Pazzi, his Cousin, was no more happy, tho' he had a less dangerous Commission. He had taken upon him to make the Peasants of *Mugello* revolt; but those Bumpkins tied him Hand and Foot, brought him to the Town-house, where he found his Process made, and the Hangman ready to execute it. Of all the Conspirators, onely the brave *Montesecco* had the favour of being put to death after a less infamous manner.

Montesecco, one of the gallantest Men of *Italy*, espous'd *Riario's* Interests, and onely out of compliance to him had a hand in the Conspiracy. He promis'd to Poigniard *Lorenzo de Medici* at the Feast of *Frejola*; but the Execution having been put off, he fell by chance into Conversation with this *Lorenzo*, and was so charm'd with his Perfections, that he refus'd to kill him, under the shift, that when he had giv'n his Word, 'twas onely to commit an Homicide, by assassinating a Man in his House; and not an execrable Sacrilege, by profaning the Altars with his Blood. His Excuse was allow'd of, because the young *Pazzi's* Tutor offer'd his Service to supply his

his Place: And as he was neither in the Great Church, nor in the Town-house, he had the better Conveniency of making his Escape; but he could not so soon take Refuge in the State of the Church, but that the Garrison of *Radicosano* stopp'd him upon the way, and sent him with a strong Guard to *Florence*, where he had his Head struck off.

Seigniore Stefano and *Antonio de Volterra*, who were to have assassinated *Lorenzo de Medici*, having thus miss'd their aim, thought it high time to slip out of the Church in the beginning of the Fray; and while those who assisted at the Mass were too much terrifi'd, and too busie about *Giuliano's* Body, and *Lorenzo's* Person, to mind the Murderers, they stole softly to the Door, and made their Escape to a Monastery, where they were receiv'd by the Religious, who three days abstain'd discovering them, whether they took pity of them, or would thereby maintain their Convent in the Right of Sanctuary, which they pretended to have obtain'd from Popes and Emperours. But the Magistrates order'd a general Search throughout the City, which was perform'd with so much exactness, that the said *Seigniore Stefano* and his Companion were drawn out of the Place where they thought they were in Safety, and conducted to Punishment.

All the *Pazzi's* Relations, all their Allies, nay, and all those that had any Engagement with them, were clapp'd up in Prison, tho' there was not any Proof against them; and *Guglielmo de Pazzi* was confin'd for all his Life long to a Village, notwithstanding he had marri'd *Lorenzo de Medici's* Sister, and that this Virtuous Lady had thrown her self at her Brother's and the Magistrates Feet, to obtain, that her Husband might remain free, since he had been wholly clear'd by all the Depositions of the Accomplices. This was somewhat an extraordinary thing, that in so great a number of Conspirators, there was but one that could get out of the Dominions of *Florence*, without being seis'd; and this very Person that escap'd, was the most culpable of all.

It's well enough known, that I mean *Bandini*. This Assassinate had not been so very much blinded with the Promises of Impunity, wherewith *Riario* had soothed his Accomplices, as not to provide for the Security of his Person in case of necessity. He had borrow'd from his Friends, and from those who engag'd him in the Conspiracy, considerable Sums, which he put into *Venetian* Merchants Hands, for the receiving them in *Constantinople* six Months afterwards. Moreover, his Man waited for him near the Great Church,

Church, with a Horse of Value; and some *Banditti's* of his Acquaintance were walking in the Porch, to make him way, and favour his Escape.

With these Precautions, he alone did more than all the other Conspirators together: He first boar'd *Giuliano de Medici* with a Poigniard, thrust under the Left Pap; and seeing that *Pazzi* stood obstinately giving him an hundred Stabs when dead, he left him to enjoy so ridiculous a Revenge, and turning towards *Nori*, *Giuliano's* Domestick, he plung'd his Dagger into his small Guts; then turn'd his Eyes towards *Lorenzo*, in the very moiment he was saving himself in the Vestry, all wounded as he was. After having rid his Hands of those two Murders, he ran likewise to dispatch him, and had got up so near him, that he would have effected his Purpose, but for the Address of an Ecclesiastick, who repulsing *Bandini* with his Crozier-Staff, while *Lorenzo* entred; after having shut the Door with so much precipitation, that *Bandini* had not the leisure to put his Foot within, soon enough to hinder it.

Lorenzo having thus avoided Death, *Bandini* stole sily away to the Church-door, from whence, by favour of those who waited for him there, he reach'd the Street, and mounting his Horse, got out of the Gate

della Croce, and in stead of taking the way to the State of the Church, by which he foresaw they would infallibly pursue him, he fled tow'rds the Sea, where he ran less risque of being known, because the Country was less frequented, principally in the State of *Sienna*. And indeed, he got safe to *Corneto*, a Port depending on that Republick, where, by a lucky adventure, he found a Ship ready to set sail to the *Levant*. Embarking in this Ship, his Voyage was cross'd neither by Pyrats nor by Tempest; but he arriv'd at *Galata*, where he receiv'd the Money due upon the Bills of Exchange. He pitch'd on that City for his Abode, where he had already almost settled, when he saw himself expos'd to the Punishment he thought he had avoided.

Lorenzo de Medici's Factors discover'd him in *Galata*, notwithstanding all his Care to conceal his Person; and as they had Access to *Cady Bashaw* the First Visier, they represented to him, That the Sultan his Master was too just, to suffer any longer in his Dominions the most Criminal of Mankind; That it was blaz'd about in *Christendom*, That his Highness had shewn an Horreur upon hearing the Circumstances of the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy; and that it was not doubted, but he had so much Goodness, as to refuse his Protection to a Man who had been its Principal

cipal Executioner. This Remonstrance being attended with Presents capable of affecting a self-interested Person, as was the *Grand-Vizier*, had all the Success intended. *Cady Bashaw* motion'd the Business to the *Sultan*, at that time *Bajazet* the Second, and made him resolve not onely to drive *Bandini* out of his Empire, but likewise to deliver him up to the *Florentines*.

It was said, That what made him proceed in this manner, was to acquire Reputation among Strangers, and give them a famous Example of the singular Virtue he valu'd himself upon, which was that of exterminating Parricides. They added, That he was willing to lay hold on the Occasion, to shew to all the Earth, how much he honour'd *Lorenzo de Medici's* Merit, which was already fam'd in the three known Parts of the Universe.

But those who pry'd into the Counsels of the *Divan*, conceiv'd another Opinion of this Result. They reckon'd, that *Bajazet* did in this, as in all other weighty Occasions, follow blindly the Sentiments that were suggested to him by his *Prime Vizier*. And that Emperour's Son, *Selim* the First, seem'd since to confirm this Opinion, when being ask'd, *Why he did not wear a long Beard, like his Father?* he said, 'Twas for fear the *Bashaws*,

taking him by it, would lead him where they listed.

There was likewise more Mystery in this *Turkish* Civility, than appear'd at the first Blush, to those who made Reflexion upon the two Fleets which the Pope had sent the Years foregoing against the *Turks*. They easily imagin'd, that *Bajazet* being inform'd of the Secret of *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, and having no other Means then to revenge the Affront he had receiv'd, his Fleet not daring to stir out of the Ports where it was, so long as that of the *Christians* watch'd it); that *Bajazet*, I say, had deliver'd up *Bandini*, in hopes, that being put to the Rack, he would depose against the Sovereign Pontiff, and thus render him contemptible to all *Christians*.

Be it as it will, *Bandini* was put into Irons, and convey'd to *Florence*, where he was hang'd at the same Window as *Pazzi* his Companion, tho' long after. However, the *Turks* had not the Satisfaction they expected, of seeing the Pope defam'd, because *Bandini's* Process was kept so secret by the Commissioners, who sat Judges in the Case, that there is not any Light remaining of it.

After a Period was put to the Executions, and that *Lorenzo de Medici* was cured of his Wound, he caus'd stately Obsequies to be perform'd for his Brother *Giuliano*, in the midst

midst whereof there hapned this Adventure. A young Lady, that *Giuliano* had kept, pretended to be his Wife, and declar'd her self with Child by him: Fifty days after was she brought to Bed of a Son, that was mighty like him; and for this Reason perhaps it was, that *Lorenzo* caus'd him to be Baptis'd by the Name of *Giulio de Medici*, without explaining farther, whether he own'd him for a Bastard, or for Legitimate. He was brought up with the Cardinal his Cousin-german, and succeeded him in the Popedom, by the Name of *Clement* the Seventh.

Then *Lorenzo* making a particular Reflection on the Misfortune that had befall'n him, found it much greater than at first he had imagin'd. He consider'd it as to its Rise; and seeing that those who had drawn up the Platform of the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, might employ against him the Power and Authority of the Holy See, he judg'd it became him to make Provision against them beforehand, for fear of being oppress'd. For this Reason it was, that foreseeing what the *Ria-*
rio's would do in process of time, by what they had already done, he wou'd before all things bereave them of the Means of covering their Purposes with the Cloke of Religion, when they levell'd them against him. He conjur'd his Friends, as soon as ever he had

had avoided the first Fury of the Assassins, to take a peculiar Care of the Person of the Cardinal-Nephew, and sent them to disengage him, before he stirr'd out of the Vestry,

They found the young Spark upon the Foot of the Great Altar, in the posture of a Person expecting Death, and was preparing *Christianly* to receive it. The *Ecclesiasticks*, who were little less terrifi'd than the Cardinal, had however bethought themselves to surround him, and to make him a Rampart of their own Bodies. Much ado had they to get him thence, because the People, who fanci'd him culpable, already throng'd to tear him piece-meal; and the Magistrates were forc'd to send their own Guards to his Rescue, and yet would not have been able to have effected it, but by feigning, that their Order was to conduct the Cardinal to the Town-house, there to suffer the same Punishment as the other Conspirators: But they carried him into the same Palace where he had lodg'd since his Arrival at *Florence*. They so carefully watch'd all its Avenues, that his Eminence and his Domesticks could not suffer any Insult, during seven or eight days, which the *Florentines* past in an horrible agitation.

Lorenzo de Medicis's Precaution did not end with doing the Cardinal-Nephew important
Offices

Offices in what regarded his Person; but he likewise sav'd his Reputation, in a Juncture when it seem'd impossible to exempt it from Tarnish. He suppress'd all the Charges and Informations that concern'd him and his Brother *Riario*. He favour'd the Rumour which was spread about, That his young Eminency was wholly ignorant of the Plot. He drew up a kind of Declaration from the Accomplices, authoriz'd by the Council of Eight, who had instructed their Process. In a word, he sent to make him from time to time very humble Excuses, for that he was barr'd of his Liberty, during the Tumult; and went to pay him a Visit, as soon as all was calm and hush again in *Florence*.

As for what regarded the Pope, *Lorenzo de Medici* writ to his Holiness in Terms altogether respectful. He crav'd the Republicks and his own Pardon, for the Discontents the Cardinal-Nephew receiv'd on his account. He justified himself, tho' no body accus'd him. He desir'd, that the Memory of it might be abolish'd, and mention'd not in the Letters either his own Wound, or his Brother's Blood, for fear he might seem to harbour Resentment. In a word, he courted *Riario's* Friendship, by a stroke of Politick Prudence, not then in use. He made all the Paces for it, and made them with an Air that shew'd

shew'd neither Fear nor Distrust. He staid the *Orsini's*, upon the point of their departing to go and desolate the Principality of *Forli*. He took upon him to mediate between them a solid Reconciliation. He assur'd him, that the *Florentines* would no longer concern themselves in the Conservation of the Petty Sovereigns of *Romagna*, when the Pope should have a mind to ruine them. And for the utmost Mark of Confidence, he offer'd to go to *Rome* upon his Holinesses Parole, for the labouring by Word of Mouth to destroy the dangerous Impressions that had been giv'n him to his prejudice, without pretending from him any Boon, or for himself, or for his Friends, in consideration of that Journey.

However, the Pope had not any regard either to *Lorenzo's* Submission, or to the Address wherewith he manag'd the Reputation of the Holy See, and the Honour of the *Riario's*, in so nice a Matter. He onely view'd the Success of the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, on the Side that could animate him most against a Person whom Heav'n had so visibly protect-ed, in stead of considering it on the Side most proper to whet his Indignation. He onely suffer'd himself to be transported by the Motions suggested to him by Spite, for having miss'd his Aim; and thenceforward onely hearkned to this Chimerical Reason,
namely,

namely, That the onely Means to cover the Fault he had committed, was to pursue it to the end. He fanci'd, that his coming to a Reconciliation with *Lorenzo*, would at least be tacitly owning his having had a Hand in the Conspiracy contriv'd for his Ruine: And that, on the contrary, by declaring War upon him, and attacking him with open Force, he would hide, in some manner, the Foxes Skin under that of the Lion, or fill at least Peoples Minds with so vast an Idea, and so capable of possessing them by a multitude of Events, which the Sword is wont daily to produce, that they would have no leisure to think of what had pass'd afore.

Upon this Presupposition, the Pope follow'd the Counsel given him by *Riario*, to levy Troops, and not embroil himself a second time in an Enterprize whose Success might prove contrary to his expectation, by Contingencies his Holiness could not foresee; he resolv'd to take his Measures so well, for the Ruine of *Lorenzo de Medici*, that Fortune, that had so signally declar'd in his behalf, shou'd be constrain'd to abandon him in spite of her teeth. This made the Pope send the shrewdest of his Emissaries, call'd *Stefano Noirdi*, to the King of *Naples*. And that he might be dispos'd to practise all his Tricks and Artifices, he had a Cardinal's Cap pro-

promis'd him, if he effected his Negotiations. He was given in Charge to represent to this King, That the Honour of his Crown was too far engag'd in the Destruction of the *Florentines*, to leave them at Peace, since the Conspiracy, wherein the Duke of *Calabria* his Son had tamper'd, was discover'd; and to suffer that the Lie should rest with him; That this young Prince being arriv'd upon the Frontiers of *Tuscany* with a brave Army, it ought to be put into Action, tho' it were onely to prevent its ruining its self in Sloth, and becoming contemptible by an ignominious Retreat; That it would have been expedient the Duke of *Calabria* had not advanc'd so soon; but that Step being made, there was no means of going back; That the *Florentines* seeing him resolv'd to subdue them, would acquiesce perhaps out of Prudence, and submit to the Destiny which then they would look on as inevitable; whereas if he made a Halt, after having menac'd so highly, the *Florentines* would harbour an insupportable Presumption, and the other Petty Potentates of *Italy*, after their Example, would insensibly be accusom'd to despise the Crown of *Naples*, for which they afore had Deferences little different from Subjection.

These Reasons were too feeble to move so
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old a Prince, and by consequence so near his Death, as was the King of *Naples*. The Blood that ~~thrill'd~~ in his Veins, was too cold, *lingerd* to be fir'd by so small a matter : And Fame was no longer a Good he minded the husbanding, since the most Considerable of his Subjects had aspers'd it with such bloody publick Reproaches, that it was no longer possible to repair it. Thus *Nardi* chang'd his Design, as soon as he had felt his Pulse, and pretending to have receiv'd new Orders from *Rome*, demanded Audience, and propos'd the Conquest of the State of *Florence*, on condition it should be atchiev'd with the Arms of the Holy See, and those of *Naples*, both obeying one and the same General ; That this General should be the Duke of *Calabria*, and that the War should be carri'd on at the Pope's Charge onely ; That *Riario* should be put into possession of *Florence* as soon as it was taken, but that he should make Oath to the King of *Naples*, and be bound to hold it of him, as a Fief depending on his Crown.

The King of *Naples* had no more regard to this second Proposition, than to the former ; and *Nardi* was upon the point of returning to *Rome*, without having made any Progress in his Pursuits, when an unforeseen Accident concluded his Negotiation to his Advantage.

Advantage. The *Orfini's*, unable to remain in Peace, since they were secur'd of a Retreat in *Tuscany* with their Brother-in-Law, took the Field; and without considering either the Prohibitions of stirring under any Lure whatever, which they had had from the Pope, or the Protection granted them, and the Stem of *Colonna*, by the King of *Naples*, had laid waste all the Territories of that House. Their Boldness was augmented by the little Resistance they had met with in their Design, and by the great number of Adventurers flocking from all Parts, to re-inforce their Troops. They had taken the Castles by main might, and reduc'd the Fortresses to Capitulate, without excepting that of *Palliano*. The *Colonneſi* being surpris'd all they could do was to retire to *Naples*, their wonted Asyle, where their Interests engag'd them to become Solicitors of the Pope's Affairs with the King: For, as they foresaw, that it would be impossible for them to recover their Places, at least without procuring such a Diversion on the Side of *Tuscany*, as should constrain the *Orfini's* to go to the Succour of their Brother-in-Law, they concerted their Measures with *Nardi*, set a going in his favour all their Intrigues; they wrought the Duke of *Calabria* to write to his Father, in Terms which promis'd

mis'd, that the Reduction of *Florence* should cost but some few days Siege, and that they would oblige themselves to bring thither their Friends as soon as they had recover'd their Lands ; and thus reduc'd the King of *Naples* to serve as an Implement to the Pope's Revenge, and the *Riario's* Ambition.

The End of the Second Book.

ing, that the reduction of Food should
 not be done by dieting, and that they
 would advise themselves to bring their
 diet down as soon as they had recovered
 their strength; and thus reduced the king of
 France to have an indigestion to the
 end of his days, and he died a martyr.

THE
 SECRET HISTORY
 OF THE
 HOUSE
 OF
 MEDICIS.

The Third Book.

Commissioner *Nardi* had no sooner adjusted with the King of *Naples* the Conditions I have mention'd, than the Duke of *Calabria* declar'd War against the Republick of *Florence*, with the Formalities then in use; that is to say, He sent to defy her by an Herald, in the

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Name of the Pope, and the King his Father. He prescrib'd her the time wherein she should prepare for her Defence, and caus'd the Reasons he had to attack her, to be given her in Writing.

These Reasons were all reduc'd to the Outrage the Holy See pretended to have receiv'd in the Person of the Cardinal-Nephew. The Constitutions of Popes were alledg'd, and the Privileges granted at divers times to the Sacred College. It was maintain'd, That the Ecclesiastick Purple render'd no less Illustrious, nor less Inviolable, the Persons invested with it, than the Secular. And they wrested from these Principles all that the Quirks of Schools was able to suggest in Passionate Divines, for the blackening the Honour of the Republic of *Florence* in general, and of *Lorenzo de Medici* in particular.

They urg'd, That the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy had been contriv'd onely to oppress the Cardinal-Nephew ; That the time of his Journey to *Florence* was designedly chosen ; That the extraordinary Honours that had been done him, were onely to *Will-i'th-wisp* him the more easily into the Precipice ; That they had spar'd him in the Feast of *Frejola*, for that *Giuliano de Medici* could not be of the Party ; and that his sudden Departure pressing the Accomplices to hasten the Blow, they

they had made no scruple of attempting it in the Choir of the Great Church, and in presence of the Holy Sacrament; That the Cardinal-Nephew was solely indebted for his Life to the Resolution the Ecclesiasticks had shewn, of exposing their own, that they might preserve his, by putting themselves in a Posture, wherein each made him a Buckler of his own Body; That the single Necessity to which the Assassins saw they were reduc'd of cutting the Throats of so many Persons, before they medled with that they aim'd at, had hindred them from proceeding further; That the Cardinal Nephew was not fetch'd from the Church, till the Magistracy of *Florence* did not think it seemly to leave him any longer amidst the Slaughter; That he had onely chang'd the Danger, by going out of the Cathedral; That the Guards that attended him, under the Sham of re-encouraging him, had had Order to hinder him from escaping, before they had consulted anew, whether they should attempt again upon his Life; That the Railleries, Upbraidings, Imprecations, he had every moment heard, were as so many Testimonies of it; and, That, finally, tho' the *Florentines* did determine to suffer him to return to *Rome*, 'twas not that they had repented of their detestable Project, but onely because

those who were less impetuous than others, had made reflexion, that all *Europe* would take up Arms to revenge this Crime, which would not have had any Example among *Christians*, if they suffer'd it to be Crown'd with the Death of a Cardinal-Nephew.

The time the Duke of *Calabria* had given the *Florentines*, serv'd the Court of *Rome* to finish the Procedures that were to be us'd, before pronouncing the Interdict. The Cardinal-Nephew made his Complaint, and the Witnesses were heard. The *Florentines* were thrice cited, but for Forms sake onely, it being pretended, their Crime was too notorious, to have need of Confrontation. And the Censures were thunder'd out, before the Republick had thoughts of making her Defence. Her State was given up to Spoil, and the Duke of *Calabria* nam'd Commissioner to execute the Sentence.

Nothing of all this startled *Lorenzo de Medici*, as having expected it, when the Pope rejected his Excuses. But he had occasion for all his Prudence, and his Authority in *Florence*, and in the other Cities of its Dependency, to dispose the People to suffer the Interdict without murmuring: For this kind of Lightning was so dreaded in all Parts of the *Christian World*, that the being struck with it, was sufficient to become execrable to

all the Faithful. They did not trouble their Noddles with considering whether it was just or no: And Peoples minds were so prepossess'd with this Maxim, That the Punishments of Hell were inseparable from the Thunders of the *Parthia*, for what Causes soever they were darted, that Armies of Sixty thousand good Soldiers had been seen to desert their General in a Night, and whole Nations revolt against their Sovereigns, by so general a Defection, that he had left him neither Subject nor Domestick.

Thus *Lorenzo* did not make it his Business to combat the Sentiment of the Vulgar, tho' he wanted not Reasons, and that the *Pulpiters* had past their Word to Preach in his favour. He took a shorter, and a less bewilder'd way, and without speaking of the Authority, or of the Justice of the Person who had thrown the Thunder, he endeavour'd to evade it, by shewing, that it departed from a more near, and a less respectful Hand. He rejected all the Fault of the Interdict upon *Riario*, the Pope's Nephew: And communicating to the *Florentines* what there was against him in the Informations of the last Attempt, he fully convicted him to have been its Author.

Afterwards he proceeded farther: And having perceiv'd, that the People began to ferment,

ment, he discover'd to them all the Particularities, which serv'd to shew, that *Riaris*'s Design had been principally to usurp the State of *Florence*. He spoke of the Enterprize of *Tiferno*, when the Ambition of this Nephew of the Pope had flam'd out the last time of the Reduction of *Spoleto*, where he had settled a Garrison capable of inspiring Jealousie to its Neighbours; of the Conquest of *Forli*, without having other Right than
 * *Bienfance.* * Convenience; and of the pretended Purchase of *Imbola*, which he was forc'd to traverse by all manner of ways. From these four Principles, *Lorenzo* inculcated to the People, That *Riaris* had drawn near *Tuscan* with no other intent, than to become its Master. He made them remark, That the *Pazzi*'s had not conspir'd against their Country to become its Tyrants, seeing they had not taken any Precautions necessary for such a Design, and that *Riaris* had not omitted the least; That he had been at the Charges of the Plot, exacted peculiar Engagements from the Persons concern'd in't, administred Oaths to them, given the Principal Orders, and sent his Nephew to *Florence* to reap the Fruit of it, with which he had flatter'd his Head when he fram'd the Conspiracy. He added, That the said *Riaris* having miss'd his Aim, endeavour'd to
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effect it by Means, that were not the more
lawful, tho' they were the less dignis'd; That
possessing, as he did, the Pope's Heart and
Ear? it should not be thought strange, that he
inspir'd him with Thoughts conformable to
his detestable Project, or that he abus'd the
Authority of the Church, but that he was to
be resisted with the same firmness as *Miselli*
had exerted in *Ziferno*; and that if such a
Petty Sovereign, who had hardly any other
Right over his Country, than that which his
Predecessors had acquir'd by the Remissness
and Desertion of foregoing Popes, had not
been wanting to make a brave Defence
against the Forces of the Court of *Rome*, be-
fore he truck'd; or of detaching upon the
first Occasion that was offer'd, tho' he had
surrender'd the Place upon Capitulation, and
had the Money paid him down on the Spot
before his Evacuation; the *Florentines*, with
much stronger Reason, ought to fight to the
last Gasps, for the Conservation of a Liberty
whereof they had been Peaceable Possessors
for so many Ages, and which none had ever
grutch'd or grappl'd with them for, before
Riazio.

These Reasons being artificially insinuated
among the People, rendred them in a few
days capable of the Sentiments which *Lo-
renzo* was willing to inspire into them. They
heard,

heard, without being ruffl'd, the Denunciations and Monitories of the Court of *Rome*, and did but rally at the Placarts that were posted up and down, to excite them to Sedition. They prepar'd for War with far less noise, and much more regularity, than when attack'd by *Coglione*. And as States the most jealous of their Sovereignty, cannot dispense themselves sometimes from ceding it almost entirely to Particular Persons, in such an extraordinary difficult Juncture, there was a new Magistrature created in favour of *Lorenzo*, which was in nothing different from the Dictatorship of the Ancient *Romans*. They render'd him the Arbiter of the Life and Death of his Fellow-Citizens. They allow'd him to put what Garrison he pleas'd into the Towns and Places, and abandon'd to him even the Power which the Republick was wont to reserve to its own Management in such like Occasions, which consisted in augmenting the old, and laying on new Impositions.

In this Dignity was it that *Lorenzo* found the Occasions to display the admirable Qualities he possess'd for Government, and to put in practise what he had learn'd most refin'd upon this Subject. He took the Rudder in his Hand; but he took it in such manner, as shew'd, that he would restore it again

again as soon as the Storm was over. Whatever his Independence was on the other Magistrates, he was not wanting to communicate to them the most important Affairs, or to cause them to be executed according as they had been resolv'd on by Plurality of Voices. He did not depose so much as one of the Commissioners and Officers he found in Office. He remain'd satisfy'd with instructing and encouraging them to serve usefully their Country. In a word, he only reserv'd to his own performance the Drudgery and Prickles of Absolute Authority, and left the Roses to those whose *Genius* was more delicious, or less capable of Fatigue.

He deriv'd from this Conduct two great Advantages. The one, That there needed less time to give the subaltern Orders, which were executed with much more diligence and expedition by the ancient Magistrates, than they would have been by newer, through the possession they were in of procuring Obedience. The other was, That *Lorenzo* not being enforc'd to employ in Common Uses the Choise of his Friends, as he would have been constrain'd by a general Change of Officers, he was at liberty to send them to the Potentates of *Italy*, who had not yet any Engagement with his Enemies: Which he accordingly so succeeded in, that the Republicks

publicks of *Venice* and *Genova*, the Dukes of *Milan* and *Orbini*, the Marquisses of *Ferrara* and *Mantova*, sign'd a Defensive League with the *Florentines*.

I shall not stand describing the particular Transactions of that War; for besides, as they are not worthy of Remark, I am oblig'd to hint by the By, That it is the Business of a Writer of History, and not mine. I shall onely say, That the most considerable Succours which the *Florentines* receiv'd, came from *Milan*; and that their other Allies assisted them so feebly, that their Army was never in a state to keep the Field. That of the Duke of *Calabria*, compos'd of the Ecclesiastick Troops, and of those of *Naples*, invaded the Territory of *Florence*; where they found the Places of Importance too well provided, to be taken by any other means than that of a regular Siege.

Yet it was not his Opinion to lay any at all; for he was so much the less assur'd of Success, as that the *Florentines* might easily, as soon as they had seen it, draw together the Troops they had dispers'd in all the other Places, and form of them a Body capable of furnishing the Besiegers, by retrenching their Victuals, or introducing into the Place besieg'd so great Succours, or such notable Refreshments, as that it would be a madness to
continue

continue the Siege. Moreover, the Summer was too near at hand, for the forming an Enterprize, which, according to all the Maxims of the Military Art, must end before the Heats began to be troublesome. And the Pope, who had bound himself to be at all the Charges of the War, had not a Fund to maintain it long, because the Revenues of St. Peter's Patrimony had been diminish'd by the Civil Wars between the *Orsini's* and *Colonna's*; from whence the Duke of Calabria had reason to foresee, that his Army would infallibly disband, if he engag'd his Soldiers in a long Siege, without having the Means of furnishing to their Subsistence; and that, on the contrary, he might retain them for some Months under his Ensigns, by abandoning to them the open Country to pillage, and the little Places that were not able to make Defence.

From thence it came, that the War was onely made, properly speaking, upon the Hinds and Bumpkins, and that nought but Burroughs and Castles of Pleasure were forc'd during the Spring. The Summer succeeding, caus'd the Troops to return into Quarters of Refreshment, and produc'd Events capable of burying the House of Medici under the Ruines of its Country, if *Lorenzo* had not conjur'd down the Tempest, in the very moment

moment it was going to pour down upon Both, by a Hit of Prudence, and consummated Generosity, which had not yet had any Example in Antiquity, and will not perhaps be imitated in future Ages.

That I may be the better understood, necessary it is, that I enquire a little further into Things, tho' it cost me a Digression, and that I insinuate some Revolutions of the Dukedom of *Milan*, which occasion'd those I mean to handle. *Francesco Sforza* seiz'd on the Dutchy of *Milan* by an Adventure equally Happy and Capricious. He was the Issue of the Concubinage of the Famous *Sforza* with a young Maiden of *Cotignola*, and had addicted himself to the Profession of Arms, wherein he was born. His Father was drown'd in going to succour the Cities of *Aquila*. The Troops being destitute of that Leader, chose him for their Commander, tho' he was at that time but Twenty years of age. The Event justify'd their Election, and young *Sforza* reliev'd the Place, defeated the Besiegers, won a notable Battel, and through the highest Felicity caus'd *Braccio* to perish, who had been his Father's Rival, and mortal Enemy. This Success rooted his Reputation, and retain'd the old Soldiers under his Discipline. He led them to the Service of *Milan's* last Duke, of the Family

of the *Visconti's*, and oblig'd by long Labours that Prince, who had no Legitimate Children, to give him his Bastard-Daughter in Marriage. At first he deriv'd no other Advantage from this Match, than of possessing a Woman endow'd with all the Graces of her own Sex, and all the Noble Qualities of ours; because his Father-in-Law was of so fickle a Humour, that he made every year a Will, by which he instituted him Heir of *Milan*, and null'd it as often to make a new one, which left after his Death his Subjects at liberty to chuse a Sovereign, or to change their Government into a Commonwealth.

But at last, the Duke dying at a time he was govern'd by his Daughter, and *Sforza* being in the same Conjunction at the Head of an Army, which he commanded for the Duke against the *Venetians*, he led it on to *Milan* with so much diligence, that he prevented his Competitors, and engag'd the People by this Surprise to own him for their Governour. Afterwards, his Valour made him overcome all those who pretended to dispossess him, while his Wife got him the Hearts of his new Subjects, by her obliging Humour, and the Charms of her Conversation. But dying of a Dropsie, at a time *Galeazzo* his eldest Son was going into *France*, to the Succour of *Lewis the Eleventh*, the
News

News that young Prince receiv'd of his Death in his crossing *Auvergne*, constrain'd him to turn back immediately, and pass thorow the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy* in a disguis'd Habit. His Mother had caus'd the *Milanefes* to take the Oath of Allegiance to him: And the first Arms which the *Piromonteses* had experienc'd to their loss, had acquir'd him so great a Name, that none durst shock him afterwards.

The profound Peace he since enjoy'd, had so far engag'd him in Luxury and Delights, that his Court was become a *Seraglio*; the Ladies of Quality were perswaded, that the abandoning their Persons to their Prince, was the doing nothing contrary to their Honour. But their Husbands were not of the same Opinion: And there were those among the Gentlemen of the Duke's Train, who on this score entertain'd the Design of assassinating him, namely, *Andre Lampoguano*, *Carlo Visconti*, and *Geronimo Olgiati*. Their Pretexes were, That *Lampoguano* had by Inheritance from his Ancestors a Mannor holding of the Church of *Cosmo*, whereon the Bishop had entred, and the Duke refus'd to concern himself in the Business. *Visconti* unable to endure, that the Duke, not content with usurping the Dutchy of *Milan* over those of his House, had moreover introduc'd Infamy into

his Family, by debauching his Sister, and prostituting her afterwards to his *Ganimede*. *Olgiate* set *Brutus* for his imitation, at the Sollicitation of *Monte* his Tutor, animated for that the Duke had had him lash'd and strappado'd, out of revenge for having whipp'd him in his Youth. The Duke was stabb'd in St. *Stephen's* Church: And his Murderers, in stead of receiving the Applause they expected from the People, were dragg'd to Execution, after *Lorenzo de Medici* had deliver'd up one of them, who had taken Refuge in the Caverns of the *Apennine*. A Will was found of the Duke's, which left his eldest Son under the Guardianship of his Mother, on condition she should follow the Counsels of *Simoneta*. But *Ludovico Sforza's* Humour, the Child's Uncle, was too ambitious, to let a long Minority spin out, without endeavouring to gain by it. He at first disputed the Tutelage; and that not succeeding, he durst pretend, nay, and declare to some Persons, That the Dutchy appertain'd to him, as being born when *Francesco Sforza* his Father was Sovereign; whereas his Brother *Galeazzo* popp'd into the World when the same *Sforza* was as yet in a private Capacity. This came to the Regents Ears, who was advis'd to send away her Brother-in-Law.

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He withdrew to *Pisa*, from whence he form'd in *Milan* so potent a Faction, that he wrought his Recall in despite of his Sister-in-Law : He expell'd her, instated himself in the Possession of the Guardianship, caus'd *Simoneta's* Head to be struck off, got the Governour of the Castle to an Interview upon the Draw-bridge, seis'd his Person, had a Gallows set up, and a Wax-Candle lighted, with an Oath to have him hang'd, if the Place was not deliver'd up into his Hands, before the Candle was spent. The Garrison being terrified, and touch'd with Compassion, open'd the Gates; and *Ludovico Sforza* wanting Forces to maintain his Ground in a Station he had newly possess'd himself of by such violent Courses, recall'd the *Milan-Troops* which were gone to the Succour of the *Florentines*.

Lorenzo de Medici was little less concern'd at this Repeal, than if he had been struck with Thunder. He perfectly knew *Ludovico Sforza's* Genius, and did not doubt but that this Prince had such Designs as would control his giving any Assistance to his Neighbours. And as the Republick of *Florence* could not be without it in this Juncture, it was in the most inevitable and nearest Danger to which it had been expos'd since *Lorenzo* had medled in the Government.

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Her other Allies of *Mantoua, Ferrara, and Urbini*, were not in a capacity to relieve her. And as they had sent her onely Troops, as thinking her capable of making Head against the Duke of *Calabria*, it was to be fear'd they would recall them, and make their Accommodation apart, as soon as they should perceive that *Ludovico Sforza* had set them the Example for so doing. For, in short, if that Prince cocker'd in his Mind the Design of making himself Duke, he was too cunning to attempt it, before he had gain'd at least two of the three Powers of *Italy* who might traverse it, namely, the Pope by his Censures, the King of *Naples* by his Authority; and the *Venetians* by their Neighbourhood. And indeed, 'as *Lorenzo* had Emissaries in all the Courts of *Italy*, he knew that *Ludovico Sforza* entertain'd a secret Agent to dispose King *Ferrand* to give him in Marriage the Princess his Daughter, who was to wed the young Duke of *Milan* when he was come to Age.

Thus *Lorenzo* had reason to suppose, that the Succours of *Milan* would infallibly bilk the *Floréntines* in their greatest need; and that if *Sforza* sent back Soldiers into *Tuscany*, it should be no longer as an Ally, but in quality of an Enemy, since he would not do it but for the obtaining by that Infidelity the

Princess of *Naples*. However, it was no less indubitable, that the Defection of *Sforza* was going to open to the Duke of *Calabria* in few Months the Gates of *Florence*; for the Citizens of that Town, who had shew'd so much Courage at first, would begin to pant and stagger, as soon as they perceiv'd that the Match was not equal, and would divide themselves into as many Factions as there were Persons of Quality, who wish'd a Change in the State, for the bettering their own Condition. Then there would be no longer any Citizen that would hazard his Life, or contribute to the Charges of the War, and *Lorenzo* must be reduc'd all alone to support the Burden, from which he was so much the more dissuaded by Prudence, as that he could not do it without ruining himself Root and Branch, if, after having pump'd his Credit, and emptied his Purse by an excessive Expence, after having kept on foot whole Armies out of his own Coffers, he should nevertheless sink, and be involv'd under the Ruines of his Country, his House would have no longer a Fund to furnish to its Recovery from such a Calamity, as it had done in the time of *Cosmo* the Old, nor a Conveniency of taking Refuge in some Sanctuary, till such time as there was a return of Good-fortune: if he died in the Occasion, he

he would be accounted rash in the Judgment of Posterity; and if he preserv'd his Life, it would be onely to spin it out, and finish it in Poverty, and to re-unite in his Person the two most notable Adversities which can vanquish the Patience of a Man of Heart, viz. an Infamous Exile, with a Long Beggary.

Whereas, if he us'd the same Policy which so well accommodated his Grandfather, and if, like him, he contented himself with hazarding his own Person, without consuming his Estate by a needless Expence; on the one side, no other Inconveniencies could befall him, than those which would be common to him with the other *Florentines*; and on the other, he would have Ressources for his House, which would be wholly peculiar to it. For, in what part of the World soever it should retire, after having been expell'd *Florence*, it would there find a Stock to subsist on at ease, and in such an abundance, as would distinguish it from others, and make it be ever consider'd by the *Florentines*, that were under the same Misfortune, as alone capable of restoring them to their own Country on the first favourable Occasion. If he lost his Life in Banishment, his Wife, being wise and virtuous, would interest the *Orsini's* to take care of the Children he should leave under Age, in hopes of partaking with

them the Administration of so many Riches; and if he surviv'd to the Republick of *Florence*, he might retire to *Venice*, and there enjoy the Privileges of a Noble *Venetian*, which his Grandfather had acquir'd him, in expectation that one of those Revolutions, which never fail'd hapning from time to time in *Florence*, should recal him thither with the same Advantages he went thence.

These Considerations inspir'd *Lorenzo* with the Design of making his Accommodation in time. And tho' it was not impossible for him to conclude a particular Treaty, by which another less scrupulous would have made up his Account, he wisely judg'd, that it would be neither for his Honour, or Surety, to unhinge his own Interests from off of those of his Country, for two Reasons. The one, That he it was that had drawn on the Tempest, wherewith it was toss'd and agitated; the other, That in whatever Part Fortune should prepare him a Retreat, he would never find there what he had left at home.

Wherefore treat he must, and comprehend the *Florentines* in the Treaty; but in this consisted the greatest Difficulty, because *Lorenzo's* Policy, how pregnant soever in Expedients, did not suggest to him any probable Means of bringing it about: For, in the first place, there was no hopes from an

address

address to the Duke of *Calabria*; who would not be of a Humour to receive a Proposition of Peace, because he would look upon it as if it were to ravish from him the Glory of the Conquest of *Florence*. There was much less likelihood, in the second place, in courting the Pope; for besides that he appear'd too much irritated against the Republick of *Florence* in general, and against *Lorenzo de Medici* in particular, to receive any Submission on their Part; he was, moreover, too much wedded to the Interest of his Nephews, to frustrate them of a Spoil of which they were almost cock-sure, after having spar'd no Means whatever for the making it fall into their Hands.

In the third place, there seem'd not to be any Remedy on the Side of *Naples*: For tho' King *Ferrand* was less prepossess'd with Passion than the Duke of *Calabria* his Son, and than the Pope; yet he was so closely besieg'd by *Nardi*, to whom the Pope had newly sent a Cardinal's Cap, that there was no room for doubt, but that this Prince would cause all Persons to be clapp'd up, who should come to him on the behalf of the *Florentines*, under pretence, that they were People with whom he was in War. That if they went about to send Deputies to those three Potentates at the same time, besides

their exposing themselves to all the Inconveniences I have newly represented, without any prospect of Success, they must hazard the Lives of as many Persons of Quality, as there should be appointed to this Commission; and the Republick of *Florence* would render it self ridiculous, by a Deputation which would onely serve to give its Enemies solemn Marks of its Pusillanimity.

Of so many Mischiefs that offer'd themselves to *Lorenzo's* Imagination, he chose the least; which was to go himself and negotiate with the King of *Naples*: For tho' he was assur'd (as I have already said) of concluding nought, yet there was some glimmering of Hope, that the Surprise that Prince might be in at such a Sight, would hinder him from treating him at the first blush with the same Severity which he would have us'd tow'rds a bare Deputy; and that afterwards it would not peradventure be impossible to slacken and mollifie him, if he gave him Audience. Besides, *Lorenzo* had a tolerable good Opinion of his own Fortune, as well as *Cæsar*; he knew, that Chance does commonly produce the most remarkable Events from weak Beginnings: he knew the *Genius* of King *Ferrand* to be an Enemy of War, and susceptible of all the Proposals of Peace that turn'd to his Advantage. He had been fully inform'd

form'd of the Address which *Nardi* had us'd to wrest the Inclinations of this Prince, by making him enter into an odious Confederation with the Pope; and by consequence, did not despond of breaking it, provided he had the Opportunity of representing to him by Word of Mouth the Infamy of it, and of making him observe, That he had been paum'd upon when he was promis'd to be made *Ruling Lord of Florence*, since the thing could not be effected according to the Terms it had been propos'd.

Upon this Proposition, *Lorenzo de Medici*, through a Result of Heroick Prudence, resolv'd to go throw himself into his Enemies Arms, after having concluded a Suspension of Arms for two Months with the Duke of Calabria. As he had conceiv'd this design without the Participation of his Friends, he made not any of them his least Confident in the Matter. He gave secret Orders for the securing what he had most Precious. He caus'd two Gallies to ride ready in the least-frequented Port there was upon the Coast of *Tuscany*; and casting his Eyes upon all the *Florentine* Gentlemen he had reason to mistrust, he found out the Means to hinder them from stirring during his absence. He invited their Children to a Match of Hunting, that way-wards where he was to Embarque;

barque; and the Invitation he made them was so much the more attracting, as that there were no parts of that Country unprovided with a World of Stags and Wild Boars. Not a Man of them fail'd the Assignment; for there was no Danger to be fear'd, (the Duke of *Calabria's* Troops being too far off, and there being no coming for them to the Place of Hunting, without passing upon the Lands of the Republicks of *Sienna* and of *Lucca*, which was never practis'd in the Military Discipline then in use.)

The Chace was good and diverting. And *Lorenzo*, after having conducted insensibly this young Nobles to the two Gallies, told them, with an Air wherein there was not the least glimpse of Affectation, That he was going to take a Voyage for a few days to *Naples*, upon Affairs of the Republick. These young Persons seeing him alone, and without Train, fancy'd there would be incivility in suffering him to depart in that manner, and offer'd to accompany him, without asking him time to inform their Parents, because they saw themselves too much press'd, and that they moreover fancy'd he would not have led them so far, without the Permission of their Relations, who had not hinted it to them, that so the Voyage might be kept the more secret.

Thus

Thus *Lorenzo de Medici* had without any Caballing, and without Violence, the Hostages he wish'd for, and was at liberty to apply his Mind wholly to what he was going about, because he had now no need to fear any Commotions in his absence. Nevertheless, he oblig'd his new Squadron to write to *Florence*, afore he set Sail. And he himself wrote to the Magistrates a pretty long Letter, whose Abridgment it is here of importance to set down. At first he ask'd their Pardon for two things: The one, For having undertaken, without their Participation, a Business of that Consequence he was going to negotiate. The other, Of departing *Florence* without their leave. He alledg'd but one and the same Excuse for these two Faults, namely, That the Affair in hand was so nice, that it could not, nor ought not to be approv'd of, but by the Success. Then he expos'd, in Terms altogether tender, That he had not been able any longer to endure, that his Country should be in danger in his Consideration: And as he ow'd it all, he likewise hazarded his all for its Deliverance: That he was going directly to *Naples*, with design to undeceive King *Ferrand*, and make him see into the Injustice of the League wherein the *Riario's* had engag'd him: That he could not doubt, but that this Prince was his particular

cular Enemy ; but that, notwithstanding, he did not despair of making him condescend to supportable Conditions : That if he effected this, he should have the Glory of exempting his Country from the Inconveniences of the War ; and if God did not in this Point second his just Intentions, his Imprisonment or his Death would discharge him from the Envy that was born him at *Florence*, and Posterity at least would do him the Justice of putting him in the number of those who had sacrific'd themselves voluntarily for their Country.

This Letter being brought to *Florence*, had the same effect in all Peoples Minds, tho' all People were not inclin'd alike. In regard of *Lorenzo de Medici*, his Enemies no longer doubted of his Loss ; and his Friends believ'd it so certain, that they began to take their Measures for the establishing themselves elsewhere. But while the one and other reason'd after their own mode upon this Transaction, the two Gallies arriv'd at *Naples*. And *Lorenzo de Medici* signify'd to King *Ferrand*, That he was come to have the Honour of paying his Respects to his Majesty, and discoursing him upon some Affairs, that could not be negotiated by an Interposer.

Lorenzo's Arrival could not be so secret, but that the News of it was spread all over the

the Town, before the Person dispatch'd to the King could pay his Majesty the Civilities he had in Charge. Insomuch that the *Riario's* Deputy, who was a *Florentine* by Nation, but otherwise *Lorenzo's* irreconcilable Enemy, and call'd *Ressalli*, had the leisure to go to the Palace, and be present with the King, when the Gentleman was introduced. He had likewise the satisfaction to hear, that not onely the King gave him no favourable Answer, but did not so much as say to him any thing positive, whereon he had reason to take Confidence. He was so much the more spirited to represent to this Prince, as soon as the Gentleman was gone, That since Fortune had now popp'd into his Hands the Means to terminate in a moment the War of *Tuscany*, to his Glory, and the Advantage of his Allies, without running any hazard, there was no question but that he would use them with all the Prudence natural to him: That if *Lorenzo* pretended to be come upon the Faith of the Truce then granted by the Duke of *Calabria*, he would learn, to his cost, that that Truce onely regarded *Tuscany*, or at most the neighbouring Countries, that lay expos'd to the Inconveniences of the War; but not the City of *Naples*, which was an hundred Leagues distant thence: That tho' all the Dominions of
King

King *Ferrand* had been comprehended therein, (which was not however done in any of the Articles) *Lorenzo* had incapacitated himself for enjoying the Benefit of it, by neglecting a Formality, so universally receiv'd in all the Countries of the Earth, that there was reason to maintain, that it appertain'd to the Right of Nations: That this Formality consisted in making known to Sovereigns the Desire a Person has of seeing or crossing their Dominions, or demanding their Passport before the Journey be undertaken; and that as *Lorenzo* could not be ignorant of this, he ought to be treated as Culpable, for having violated it: That nothing more was there to do, than two things, in his regard; the one, to rid his Person out of the World; and the other, to seize it. That the former would be the shortest, and safest; but, that if his Majesty could not so soon resolve upon that, his Allies hoped from his Prudence and Equity, that he would give his Orders incontinently for the performing the second.

The King of *Naples* made no precise Answer to *Reffalli*: He onely gave him to understand, That this Adventure was so surprising, that it well merited to be examin'd with more leisure. And indeed, hardly ever was Prince seen more puzzl'd than King *Ferrand*,

rand,

Ferrand, when he fell to deliberate in himself upon the manner he should receive *Lorenzo de Medici*. The Cruelty he was naturally prone to, persuaded him to use Violence: And the fair Pretence he had to execute it, egg'd him on the more to gratifie this Inclination. Moreover, he look'd on the Sovereignty of *Florence* as a Fief which would hold of his Crown, as soon as *Lorenzo de Medici* should be no more; and the Life of a Private Man did not seem to him sufficiently considerable, to ballance such an Advantage. He was engag'd in a War, that might be terminated with one Blow. He had promis'd the Pope to put his Nephew in possession of *Florence*. He knew the violent Humour of that Pontiff. He foresaw, that he would never pardon him, if he let so fair an Occasion and escape of satisfying his Ambition and Revenge: And the History of three or four past Ages had taught him, that the Popes had taken away and giv'n the Crown of *Naples*, almost as often as the Will or the Caprice had whirl'd them so to do.

On the other side, the Right of Nations, and good Faith, on which *Lorenzo* was come, seem'd to be two sufficient Reasons to dissuade his Detention, to whomsoever should have an abhorrence to notorious Crimes. And as the Genius of King *Ferrand* was sufficiently

ficiently irresolv'd, he felt in his Soul an extraordinary agitation, when he was to come to a Determination. However, it is not doubted, but that he had at length chosen the unjust Course, if Curiosity had not justl'd in to the Succour of what Virtue he had left, to hinder him from violating the Right of Hospitality. He remembers, that *Lorenzo de Medici* was bruited the Worthiest Man in *Europe*. He remembers the Wonders that were blaz'd of him abroad; and comparing them with the Generous Resolution that had conducted him to *Naples*, he had a grudging to see this Heroe, who was both the greatest Polititian, and the gallantest Man living. He was confirm'd in the Design, by the facility of gratifying this Desire of his, without its being in the least known. He had *Lorenzo* whisper'd, That they might confer together, provided their Interview was perform'd without any Witnesses. *Lorenzo* not caring in what manner he saw the King, so he had but time to discourse him, joyfully receiv'd the Proposal that was made him, nay, and suggested the Means of having it effected according to his Majesty's Mind, by offering to be conducted alone, as soon as it was Night, to any Place appointed him.

Thus was the Interview had in the King's Closet, where *Lorenzo* having insinuated in-

to

to the Monarch's good Opinion, by all the ways that Decency allow'd of, discours'd him upon the Subject of his Voyage, and made him see into the real cause of the *Tuscan* War, which so much care had been taken to conceal and masquerade, so as that it might not fall within his ken. He justify'd himself fully upon all which the *Riario's* had laid to his Charge; and perceiving the King took some delight in what he related to him, he stagger'd him quite, by declaring to him, That he needed to bring no other Proof of his Innocence, than the Resolution he had taken, of coming himself to acquaint his Majesty with the true State of the Case. He added, That he demanded no other Articles of Peace, than those his Majesty should judge reasonable; and that the *Florentines* would receive, without murmuring, the Law he should vouchsafe to give them, after having had the Honour of informing him of the Quarrel, wherein they were engag'd, maugre their Endeavours and Inclinations for Peace.

As the King of *Naples* was naturally vain, and that Fortune had never afforded him the Occasions of satisfying the Inclination he had for false Glory, tho' he had already Reign'd above Thirty years, he swallow'd with avidity that now offer'd, of becoming

Arbiter of the *Florentines* Destiny, and sooth'd his Fancy with the Pleasure he should have in giving the Citizens of *Naples* a Spectacle approaching that of the *Romans*, when *Tiridates*, the King of *Parthia's* Brother, came to demand Peace of *Nero*, for *Armenia*. In this thought, he sweetned insensibly, and abated of his Tartness, even to the letting *Lorenzo* know, That if he sent to inform him of his Arrival by the most considerable Gentlemen that accompany'd him, and to declare to him he was come as a Deputy from the Republick of *Florence*, to negotiate the Peace, under the Sanction of the Truce; this Overture would furnish him with the Pretext he needed, to give him a Publick Audience, without derogating from the League he had made with the Pope.

Lorenzo accepted this Offer so much the more willingly, as that at his departure from *Florence* he had provided himself with a sufficient Power, and had taken care to bring along with him the *Gonfaloniere's* onely Son, the fittest Man that could be, to represent the Personage desir'd by the King of *Naples*. Whereupon he sent him the next day to that Prince, to make him the Compliment agreed on: And the King of *Naples* took his time to receive him in *Ressalli's* Presence. The

Gonfaloniere's Son, call'd *Tomaso Soderini*, acquitted

quitted himself admirably well of his Commission, and acquainted the King of *Naples*, with much Boldness and Confidence, after having paid him the most profound Respects, That the Republick of *Florence*, in consequence of a Suspension of Arms, which she had concluded for two Months with the Duke of *Calabria*, had rightly judg'd, that this Interval was too short to observe all Formalities necessary for the Conclusion of a Peace; and that to improve these her few so precious Moments to her best advantage, by justling up to the main of the Business, without losing time about the Preliminaries, to *Naples* she had sent *Lorenzo de Medici*, the most Considerable of her Subjects, that he might Personally Treat with his Majesty, upon the Presupposition, That the Pope would not fail to approve of what should be concluded on at *Naples*.

The King of *Naples*, after having made young *Soderini* withdraw, ask'd *Ressalli* what his Thoughts were of the Business. *Ressalli* made answer, That he persisted in the belief, that *Lorenzo de Medici* ought to be dispatch'd out of the World, or at least secur'd. But things are no longer in the same State (reply'd the King); for we thought yesterday he came of his own motion, and as a Private Person; and now we are inform'd he comes in

the Name of the Commonwealth of Florence, and has the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary. But tho' it were so (reply'd Ressailli hastily) your Majesty may pretend Ignorance, till such time as the Florentines have inform'd you of it by the Ways in use among Sovereign Powers, in matter of Deputation; and in the mean while, you will have sufficient ground to act against Lorenzo de Medici, tho' it were onely to punish him for having neglected these Formalities. The King of Naples rejoyn'd, When I have practis'd this subtle Prank and Cavil, it will not skreen my Honour from Reproach, in having violated the Right of Nations, in so signal a Conjuncture. Then he fell to making a long Exaggeration of Lorenzo's Merit, and concluded it with letting Ressailli know, That if he fail'd making a favourable Reception to Lorenzo's Dignity, that alone would be sufficient to render his Reign odious to Posterity.

These last Words utterly discompos'd and nonplus'd Ressailli's Violence. He manifestly saw the King of Naples fully set upon giving Lorenzo Audience, and was not ignorant of the Consequences. Nevertheless, as there was no possibility of preventing it, at least without running the hazard of a Rupture with the King, from which he was forewarn'd by Riario above all things, More-
over,

over, if the King of *Naples* was resolv'd to discourse him, the more advantageous was it to the Pope and his Nephew, that it were done with their Participation, and in their Deputy's Presence, than if it was perform'd without their Privity; because that in the first Case they might find occasion, perhaps, to prevent its taking effect: And that if it succeeded maugre these Endeavours, they would be still in a capacity to husband their Interests: Whereas, in the second Case, the Odds was too great against them, and their whole Stake in danger of being lost, without hopes of Retrieve, since the King of *Naples*, after having treated with *Lorenzo*, needed onely to send word to the Duke of *Calabria* to lead back into his own Dominions the Army that acted in *Tuscany*: For, as that Army depended almost on three Regiments of Infantry, the *Florentines* would enjoy Peace nevertheless, with almost as much Tranquillity, as if they had treated with the Pope, whose Weakness would be then obvious to all the World, and tarnish'd with the utmost Affront.

This mov'd *Ressalli* to give the *Neapolitan* King to understand, That if his Majesty thought convenient to grant *Lorenzo* Audience, the Pope his Master hoped he would have the Goodness not to do any thing pre-

judicial to their Union. The King of *Naples* reply'd, That he would neither see *Lorenzo*, nor speak to him, but in the Presence of his Holiness's Minister, that he might have an irreproachable Evidence to vouch for the sincerity of his Intentions. *Lorenzo's* first Audience pass'd almost wholly in Civilities on both sides. He appear'd as Ambassador Extraordinary from the Republick of *Florence*, and said, That his Superiours had sent him modestly to bewail the Misfortune they had had, of incurring the Pope's Indignation, without being guilty of any thing to challenge it; That for overplus of Ill Fortune, they had seen the Arms of *Naples* joyn with those of the Church, to lay desolate their Territory; but that these Acts of Hostility had diminish'd nothing of the ancient Confidence which the Commonwealth of *Florence* had ever had in his Majesty's Justice, because she had suppos'd, that so wise a Prince must necessarily have been prepossess'd to her Prejudice, to treat her as an Enemy without any Lawful Cause; That it was in order to the destroying so dangerous an Opinion, that he was sent to implore Peace of his Majesty, and to declare to him, That the *Florentines* were so perswaded of their not having offended him in any manner, that they would submit to all he should please to decree, and

humbly

humbly to beseech him to be their Mediator with the Pope.

The King of *Naples* answer'd sparkishly, That the Commonwealth of *Florence* had found the Secret to make his Sword fall out of his Hand, if he himself had been onely Interest'd in the *Tuscan* War. But, as the Pope was a Party, he could then make no other Return, than that he already gave his Royal Word, to sacrifice to the Good of the Peace all his Pretensions, and all the Charges he had been at, and to employ his Offices with his Holiness, in order to dispose him to an Accommodation.

This favourable Reception was follow'd two days after with a Private Conference between the *Neapolitan* King and *Lorenzo de Medici*, wherein *Lorenzo* fell immediately to the Business, and unvail'd to this Monarch the true Causes of the War, which the *Riarior's* had so craftily let him see onely in disguise. He shew'd him the Informations of *Pazzi's* Case, and the Memoirs written and sign'd by the Accomplices own Hand. He made appear, that the Conspiracy had been hatch'd at *Rome*, with Design to mount *Riarior* to the Sovereignty of *Florence*. He modestly insinuated, That the Care he had taken to manage the Sovereign Pontiff's Reputation, that of the Cardinal-Nephew, and

Prince *Furli*, in the time they themselves prostituted it by the basest of all Crimes, had drawn the Devastations executed upon the Territory of *Florence*: But that he hop'd his Majesty would cause them to cease, after he was inform'd of the Truth from his own Eyes. Then he represented to him, in a Discourse that was beyond contest, That since *Italy* was divided into so many different Sovereignities, 'twas impossible to change any one of them, without hazarding the All it made a Part of: That this Harmony depended no less of the smallest Powers, than of the greatest, because none of them was then so weak, but whose Aggrandizement it was necessary to obstruct: That those whose States were more Considerable, for their Riches, or Extent, had more Interests than the rest to maintain the Counterpoise; since by shocking it, they would lose much Advantage: That his Majesty and the Duke of *Milan* were of that number; but that the Duke of *Milan* was not so much concern'd in this Affair: for tho' the Pope had seis'd on *Tuscany*, he would still have a Refuge left in the Empire, whose Feudatory he was: Whereas if the Realm of *Naples* was menac'd, after the Republick of *Florence* her being subdu'd, he would be destitute of all Means of Recovery, since that Kingdom must depend on the

the same Power which would endeavour its Oppression, and none would be concern'd, or interpose in its Protection: That his Majesty must needs know, that the Intention of the Popes had ever been to reunite to their Demesn the Crown of *Naples* and *Sicily*: That *Sixtus* the Fourth was not of a Humour to neglect pouching the first Occasion offer'd, since his Paces did sufficiently evince, that he was at watch for such an Opportunity: That the Alliance of the *Riario's* was onely a Trap; and the Promise of holding the Stare of *Florence* in Fief of the Crown of *Naples*, onely an Illusion; since there was no Surety given to keep tack, when the Prince of *Forli* had once got Possession. And indeed there was none mention'd in the Treaty of the League; but tho' there had been, the Performance thereof was unfeasible and impossible; because the Prince *de Forli* having no Children, when once dead, the Pope then in being would pretend, that the Fief must be reunited to the Ecclesiastick State, and not to the Crown of *Naples*, and would clutch it with so much the more easiness, as that the Demesn of *Florence* touch'd on his Lands, and that the *Neapolitans* could not send Troops thither without his Permission: That, in fine, the Safety of all *Italy* in general; and that of his Majesty in particular, consisted

consisted in impeding Strangers from getting footing amongst them: But that this their Exclusion was in no wise to be effected by continuing the War against the *Florentines*; for 'if the *Florentines* were pinch'd, they'd not fail to accept the Offers of a Puissant Succour made them by the most Christian King. And besides, well known it was, that they were so enclin'd, that out of despair of preserving their Liberty, they would prefer the *French* Sway, to whom they were united by Commerce, before that of the *Riario's*: That in this Case the Kingdom of *Naples* might assure it self of being first attack'd, because upon it the *French* had the most ancient and most legitimate Pretensions.

As all these Reasons were invincible, and that the King of *Naples* had not made any Reflexion on them when he Confederated with the Pope, they convinc'd him. And Timidity, which was his ruling Passion, making him see nearer at hand the dismal Objects wherewith *Lorenzo* threatned him, he made no scruple of owning to him the Desire he had to terminate the *Tuscan* War, and requir'd of him but two days time to contrive the Means of bringing it about. *Lorenzo*, overjoy'd to see so happy a Progress in his Design, return'd to his Lodgings with the same Precautions he came thence, that is to say,

say, without being attended or seen by any, and left the *Neapolitan* King to consult and ruminate with himself about the Course he was to take; for this old Prince communicated nothing of this Affair to his Ministers, so fearful was he of their being gain'd and Pension'd by *Riario*.

He resolv'd to send for *Ressalli*, and found him, whether it were possible to prevail with the Pope to slacken in favour of the *Florentines*. *Ressalli* at first made some difficulty to tell his Mind; but being press'd at such a rate, as that he was compell'd to speak, or declare by his silence that the Pope was inexorable, he freed himself out of this perplexity, by proposing to the King of *Naples*, That his Majesty would dispatch a Messenger to his Ambassador at *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with *Lorenzo's* Voyage and Proposals, and to know of his Holiness after what manner and on what terms he was willing a Negotiation with him should be set on foot. He added, That he would dispatch at the same time a Courier to his Holiness, to inform him of what occur'd at *Naples*, and require his Directions; and that after he had receiv'd them, he would not fail to communicate them to his Majesty.

The King of *Naples* accepted this Offer, because it tended to his receiving at the same time

time a double Illustration of what he had so much a desire to know. But the Pope, who did not curb his Humour in things wherein he believ'd Dissimulation was not absolutely necessary, answer'd the *Neapolitan* King's Ambassador, and sent Orders to his *Nuncio*, not to listen to the *Florentines*, till they talk'd of yielding at Discretion. He utter'd his Mind in this manner with so much the less scruple, in that he did not as then the least imagine that the King of *Naples* was capable of leaving him in the lurch; and that being much better inform'd than that Prince, of the Extremity the *Florentines* were reduc'd to, he foresaw, that there needed only two or three Weeks delay, to oblige them to crave Mercy.

However, he was mistaken in his Conjecture; and his Holiness's sturdy Answer having fully convinc'd the King of *Naples* of all *Lorenzo de Medici* had told him, that old Prince could no longer resist the Temptation of abandoning the Pope, and harbour'd no other Thoughts, than of making his Accommodation apart. Not but that he saw well enough all the Consequences of the thing; but he had such an urging to conclude it, that he found out in the same Instant Remedies to the Inconveniencies, furnish'd by his Imagination being craz'd and wounded with Fear.

Fear. Thus he thought of nothing now, but of hastning his Design; and in the very next Audience he gave *Lorenzo*, he agreed with him not onely a Treaty of Peace, but likewise an Offensive and Defensive League, for Ten years, between the Crown of *Naples* and the Commonwealth of *Florence*.

This so amaz'd the Pope, that he would neither believe what *Ressalli* wrote to him, nor what was own'd to him by Baron *Rosfano*, the *Neapolitan* Ambassadour at *Rome*: Nor was he to be undeceiv'd, till the Duke of *Calabria* had restor'd the Places he had taken from the *Florentines*, and brought home the Army he commanded into his Father's Dominions. Then, as domineering Passions have this Property common to great Rivers, which overflow with so much the more Rapidity, as that the Banks which held them in were stronger, or the more Care or Artifice us'd to withstand them; the Pope fell into such an Indignation, as could not have more dangerous Symptoms. He exclaim'd against his Ally, and against his Enemies, at the same rate with those who mean no longer to keep any measure in their Resentments. He was not content with interdicting the *Florentines*, he excommunicated them all in general, and *Lorenzo de Medici* in particular. He abandon'd their Republick to whoever

whoever had a Mind to possess it. He endeavour'd to whet the Ambition of the Princes of *Italy*, by proposing to them so rich a Booty ; and seeing they were pall'd by the Difficulties of seising it, which seem'd to them invincible, he sollicitated Foreign Powers, and fell to minding the *Germans* of their ancient Pretensions upon *Tuscany*.

As to the King of *Naples*, true it is, he was not excommunicated, nor his Realm interdicted ; for there was neither Reason nor Pretext sufficient to come to that Extremity. But bating this, a stop was put to all the Graces the *Neapolitans* were wont to receive from the Holy See. They were barr'd all hope of any in the future. And as it was known, that the Nobles of the Country were reduc'd to their Obedience to King *Ferrand*, meerly by the Menaces of being retrench'd from the Communion of the Church, they were sollicitated to revolt, under the Lure of Impunity ; and a beginning was made to cavil the Investiture of *Naples*, which the foregoing Popes had granted to the House of *Arragon*.

But as the Pope's Humour was nice in matter of Hatred, the Aversion he had for *Lorenzo de Medici* proceeded from a Motive so much the more difficult to cease, as it was the less known by those who might intermeddle

meddle in the Reconciliation: For tho' this Pontiff had much ado to digest, that *Lorenzo* had hindred him from exalting his House to the Sovereignty of *Tuscany*; tho' the same *Lorenzo* had in hand Matters sufficient to convict him of the basest and blackest of Crimes, and had shewn the Originals of them to the King of *Naples*; tho' he had spirited this Prince from his Alliance, and had made the Troops of the Church receive the most sensible Affront, by exposing them to a shameful Retreat, after the Duke of *Calabria's* Desertion: yet all this was not precisely what lay heaviest at the Pope's Heart. He was more ingenious to torment himself, than were his very Enemies; and laying aside the Interest of his Grandeur and Reputation, he could not endure that *Lorenzo* (after having despair'd of saving his Republick by continuing the War) had chose rather to go throw himself into the Arms of the King of *Naples*, than into his; and making the due Comparison he might well in this Occasion, he pois'd the Holiness of the Head of the Church, and his Quality of Common Father of the *Christians*, with the King of *Naples's* Character, who was reckon'd in *Europe* for the most Cruel, the most Perfidious, and the most Self-interested of all Princes. He from thence concluded, That *Lorenzo de Medici* must needs

needs have imagin'd, that this King (as Vicious as he was) was still better than his Holiness, since he had preferr'd him before him in the nicest Choice that can be made in Civil Life, by confiding in him both his Life and his Fortune. Thus the Pope would have omitted nothing of what he judg'd proper to push on his Resentment, had not the *Turks* at that time seiz'd on the City of *Otranto*, and put therein Troops they had assembled in *Epirus*. So sudden an Invasion was more efficacious, than had been all Divine and Humane Considerations. It reunited the Princes of *Italy*; it reconcil'd *Lorenzo* with the Pope; it caus'd the Censures to be taken off that were fulminated against the *Florentines*, and the Pope reinstated them in the Communion of the Church, on condition they would send Fifteen Gallies to block up the Port of *Otranto*, and maintain them there at their own Charges, as long as the Siege should last before that Place.

As it does not appertain to a Writer of *Amusements* to dwell upon Sieges, I shall say nothing of this, save that the Infidels thereby taught the Christians to make regular Fortifications; and that the Besieged, after having shewn more Resolution than the Besiegers, demanded to capitulare, as soon as they

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were inform'd of the Death of their Emperour *Mabomet* the Second, as if they had desponded of their Good-fortune under another Head. The Princes of *Italy* having no more Common Enemies, fell to sparring with one another: And the Senate of *Venice* hearing of the Death of *Borso da Esté* Marquis of *Ferrara*, imagin'd it would be easie for them to seise on his Territory, because *Hercule da Esté* his Successor was too young, and too voluptuous to support the Fatigues of the War. But as it was hardly possible to give a specious Colour to that Usurpation, without hooking in the Pope, the Senate had him pump'd by their Emissaries, and propos'd to him the sharing that Marquisate with the Republick, after it was conquer'd at their mutual Charges. The Pope embrac'd the Proposition, because that (well perceiving his Death was near at hand) he would make as much haste as he could to aggrandize his Nephews. Thus the League was concluded, and the new Marquis attack'd by his two Neighbours, when he onely expected from them Compliments of Condolance upon his Father's Death. The first thought he had, while a putting himself in a Defensive Posture, was to have recourse to *Lorenzo de Medici*, who was become so potent in *Florence*, by the late Service he had

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render'd his Commonwealth, that he dispos'd of it almost in the same manner as if he were a Despotick Sovereign. The Marquis caus'd an Envoy extraordinary to represent to him the Injustice that was done him, and the dangerous Consequences of the War newly declar'd against him.

Lorenzo, who had already foreseen those Consequences, was not satisfy'd with assisting him with the Succours of *Florence*, but moreover wrought him a Counter-League between the King of *Naples*, the Dukes of *Milan* and *Urbino*, and the Republick of *Florence*, for the Conservation of the Land of *Ferrara*. Thus, in a little time after, four Armies appear'd in the Field, whose Success was pretty well balanc'd: That of *Venice*, under *Roberto da San Severino*, who commanded it since *Coglione's* Death, and who nicking the unexpected Death of the Duke d' *Urbino*, General of the Troops appointed for the Guard of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, dissipated them without hazarding a general Battel, and came pouring on Victorious to the Gates of *Ferrara*. But, on the other side, the Duke of *Calabria* having advanc'd too far into the Ecclesiastick State, with the rest of the Confederated Troops, was defeated at *Velitre*, by *Roberto Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimino*, General of the Pope's Army. The

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Principal Lords of *Naples* were slain or taken Prisoners in this Action: And the Conquerour was already preparing to march to the Conquest of that Kingdom, when *Riario*, far from suffering him to have still that Occasion of becoming more Famous and Recommendable, having resolv'd to dispatch him, three days after the Battel had him poyson'd, of which he died in two hours time. Then *Riario* was contriving to put into *Rimino* such Soldiers as in whom he might confide: But *Lorenzo de Medici* having notice of his Intention by his Spies, caus'd other Troops to slip into it, that secur'd the Place for *Malafesta's* Heirs.

This Precaution, however, mended little the Affairs of the better Party; for the Army of *Venice* being become Mistress of the Campaign, after the Duke of *Calabria's* Defeat, and the Duke of *Urbino's* Death, block'd up so closely the City of *Ferrara*, that *Lorenzo* judg'd they would infallibly take it, if he had not recourse to the onely Remedy to save it. This Remedy consisted in cutting off the Pope's Alliance with the *Venetians*: And to accomplish this Design, there was no other way, than to threaten his Holiness with a Council. *Lorenzo* made the Proposal of it to the Emperour, and to the Kings of *England* and *France*, who back'd

this Overture with so much heat, that the Council necessary to unhinge his Holiness was Conven'd.

The News his Holiness receiv'd of it, startled him no less than if he had already felt the Blow. He remembered the Trouble that another Council, assembled at the same Place, had put one of his Predecessors to; and as he did not expect to be so fortunate as that Pope, in parrying the ill Consequences, and that he saw not the same Dispositions in Peoples Minds that Holiness had met with to divide them, he fancy'd he was going to be depos'd from the Papacy, if he did not suddenly remove the Scandal of the War of *Ferrara*, and do with a good Grace what was desir'd of him by all the Christian World. From thence it came, that he was not contented with abandoning the *Venetian Commonwealth*, without alledging any cause for his Desertion, but moreover he let her know it by a Publick Declaration, as considerable at least as a Declaration of War. He cited her before his Tribunal, to give an Account of the Acts of Hostility she had committed in the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and of the Pretensions she might have upon it. He commanded her to restore what she had there taken, and command thence her Troops; in default of which, he protested he would go
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joyn the Confederated Princes, to constrain her to it.

The Senare of *Venice* shew'd more firmness than was expected from a Republick accustomed to venture her self the least she could with Fortune. They did not trifle away their time, with vainly reproaching the Pope with his Breach of Faith, nor with putting him in mind, that he it was that had engag'd them in the Quarrel, which he would now hinder them from deciding. They affected in that respect a kind of Insensibility, which might pass for a just Contempt, and answer'd with a Haughtiness mingl'd with Respect, That not owning any Superiour Power upon Earth, they were not bound to give any one an Account of their Actions, nor to deport themselves at anothers Pleasure, in a War they had thought just when they undertook it.

Thus the *Venetians* Stubbornness and Obstinacy, of necessity drawing after it a long and difficult War, having oblig'd the Princes of *Italy* to meet at *Cremova*, so to resolve among themselves what Course was to be taken, *Lorenzo de Medici* appear'd there in Quality of Ambassador from his Republick, and comported himself in such manner, as finish'd giving to his Reputation the liveliest Lustre of which it was capable; for tho' his

past Actions, and principally his Voyage to *Naples*, had proclaim'd him the greatest Statesman then in *Italy*, there was, however, some room for doubt, whether he understood War so well as Negotiation. And the extreme Care he had ever had to appease Quarrels as soon as they begun, seem'd to uphold the Conjectures of some Persons, that he had a diffidence of his Military Virtue, and not so good an Opinion of himself, as to think he was capable of executing in the Field, what he had concluded at the Board. But in the Assembly of *Cremona* he talk'd of War with so much sufficiency and easiness, that the whole Congress went thence persuaded; that he was no less fit for Arms, than polite Letters; and that he had an admirable knack at inspiring vigorous Resolutions, when he judg'd them necessary for the Common Good.

He represented to this Congress, That *Italy* had not then any more formidable Enemies than the *Venetians*; That they had alter'd the Design of being wakeful for the Publick Liberty, which they had so happily prosecuted during so many Ages, into the Resolution of subduing it; and that the War of *Ferrara* was an evident Proof of this Assertion: That the Good and Well-meaning might with conveniency suffer them to come
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out of their Marthes, and take footing on the *Terra firma*, while they concern'd themselves no farther than to exterminate the Tyrants of *Padoua*, and against the Emperours to protect the Holy See; but that in the present Juncture they could not with Justice approve of their Enterprises, seeing they tended to the Oppression of *Italy*: That they had almost reduc'd to Extremity the Important City of *Ferrara*; and that if they were suffer'd to press it, there would be no means left to hinder them from rendring themselves afterwards Masters of *Modena* and *Reggio*: That they would find in those two Cities the Keys of all the Places of *Romagna*, such Conveniencies would they afford them, for the seising them in the same time they stripp'd the right Owners of the Means of making their Defence; and that after the Conquest of *Romagna*, the most Potent Princes of *Italy* would have no longer any League of Communication, and might be easily subdued one after the other, by a Republick whose Counsel being Eternal, and ever Uniform, would still keep her in a posture of nipping the Revolutions which Time and Fortune should introduce among her Neighbours.

Lorenzo de Medici's Discourse made all *Italy* take up Arms against the *Venetians*, and con-

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strain'd them quickly to shift the Design of usurping others Dominions, into that of defending their own. *Hercule da Esté*, at the Head of a formidable Army, entred the Territory of *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, and forc'd (by this Irruption) the *Venetians* to recall the Troops which had almost reduc'd *Ferrara* to Extremity. Those Troops dispers'd themselves after some Skirmishes, wherein they had the disadvantage; and all the Champion of the *Terra-firma* was so absolutely deserted, that not a *Venetian* Soldier now appear'd, to hinder the Pillage; when the Senate contriv'd a way to divert the Storm, by which they were upon the point of being wreck'd, by a Device whose Success was answerable to their Expectations.

They had perceiv'd, that *Ludovico Sforza*, who govern'd then the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Quality of the Duke his Nephew's Guardian, had engag'd in the League rather for Companies sake, than of set Design; because having whirl'd his Head with usurping the Sovereignty, of which he had onely the Administration, it was no longer for his Advantage, that the Confederated Princes should weaken the *Venetians*, for fear they should turn afterwards against him. In this view, they dispatch'd from *Venice* a sly and experienc'd Senator. He wriggld himself into

into *Ludovico's* good Opinion, by making him observe, That he unwittingly contributed to the Execution of others Affairs, by ruining his own; and that the Counter-clap of the Mischief he did the *Venetians*, if he had not a care, would recoil suddenly upon himself; That he was engag'd in a League which could not but be prejudicial to him, since whoever pounc'd the State of the *Terrafirma*, would render himself Master of the Land of *Milan* when he pleas'd; That young *Hercule da Esté*, to whom that Conquest was design'd, had Ambition; and that when he was become extraordinary Potent, ev'n beyond his Desires and Expectations, he would still drive at more, and endeavour to bring about his Aims; That the true Interest of the Dutchy of *Milan* was to hinder *Italy* from changing Masters, because while it continu'd in the same State, that Dutchy would ever be a principal Part of it, and its Masters, by consequence, always the most Consider'd Princes of *Italy*.

This Ratiocination was so much the more agreeable to *Ludovico Sforza*, in that it was conformable to his *Genius*. This Prince, too refin'd in all things, suffer'd his Temper to be cajoll'd with the Vanity of shewing his Power, by obstructing the Accomplishment of an Enterprize so near an issue, as was that
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of ruining the *Venetians*, and in drawing from the Brink of the Precipice the most illustrious Republick in the Universe, without doing ought else than suspending his Concourse, and forbearing to act in Conjunction with those who were going to push on its Downfall. He abandon'd the Confederates, without giving them notice. He concluded a secret Treaty with the *Venetians*, without foreseeing, that this same Treaty would be the Cause of his own Ruine, and of that of his Family. He recall'd his Troops from *Hercule da Esté's* Army, which made up the better part of it, and reduc'd him, by this Desertion, to depart *Lombardy*, and return into his own State. And thus the War ceas'd, in the same manner as a Fire that is retrench'd of Fuel; and the Pope conceiv'd such a Vexation at it, as augmented the Fever, whereof he died the Tenth of *August*, 1484.

Lorenzo de Medici, after having endeavour'd to make known to *Ludovico Sforza* the Fault he committed, propos'd to the *Florentines*, to employ the Soldiers they had in the Confederated Army, in recovering the City of *Serezana*, which *Fregoso* had taken from them, and sold to the Republick of *Genova*. The Council of Eight gave their Assent to this Expedition. The Town was besieg'd, and

and made such a vigorous Defence, as required *Lorenzo's* appearing at the Siege. His Presence cool'd the Courage of the Inhabitants, and of the Garrison: They sent to present him with a Crown of Olive, and the Town submitted to the Laws he thought fitting to impose on it. She open'd to him her Gates, and receiv'd him with the same Serenity, as if she had no cause for Fear and Apprehension. This Testimony of her Confidence in him, was not useless to her: And if *Lorenzo de Medici* did not treat her altogether as Innocent, he hinder'd at least her being sentenc'd to a Redemption from Plunder, and from being robb'd of her Privileges.

At his Return from this Expedition, Fortune furnish'd him with the Occasion of repaying with Usury the King of *Naples* the good Office he had receiv'd. The City of *Aquila* was now revolted against this Old Prince, whose too great Severity was ever gravelling him in new Troubles, and had put it self under the Protection of the Holy See. *Innocent* the Eighth, succeeding *Sixtus* the Fourth, had granted her this Protection with too much precipitation, and without examining the Consequences it might have. The *Neapolitan* Nobility, who onely waited for the Pope's Declaration to have a Pretence
for

for Rebellion, took the Field, and causing all the Cities to revolt where they had Authority, reduc'd their King to the necessity of remaining pent up in his Capital City. *Roberto da San Severino* being malecontent, as well as the rest, accepted the Generalship of the Pope's Armies, tho' his Brother of the same Name had been poyson'd in that Post, and spirited away the Troops which the Duke of *Calabria* was leading from *Taranto* to his Father's Succour.

So many redoubl'd Misfortunes did so oppress the King of *Naples*, that he did not so much as think of demanding Succours of *Lorenzo*; when *Lorenzo*, through an excess of Generosity, hazarded so many things to rescue and disengage him out of so great a Peril. And indeed, without having receiv'd either Letters or Courrier from *Naples*, he had already put the *Orfini's* his Allies into the Field, and had giv'n them Money to raise Troops. He had likewise caus'd Sums to be distributed to *Prosper* and *Fabricio*, Heads of the House of *Colonna*, to the very Concurrence stipulated in the secret Treaty, which that House had concluded with the Crown of *Naples*, for their mutual Defence against the Holy See. And these two Clanns, forgetting for a time their Quarrels, acted in Conjunction, and caus'd part of the Ecclesiastick

desist'd State to rise. This forc'd the Pope to recall *San Severino*, who made notable Progresses in *Abrussia*. *San Severino* was not so happy in *St. Peter's* Patrimony, and behav'd himself so forrily against the *Orsini's* and the *Colonne's*, that the Pope, whose Humour was distrustful, suspected him of Correspondence with his Enemies. And this pretended Collusion gave him occasion to fear, that the two Armies (after having spent some time in making semblance of fighting) would joyn, and march against *Rome* with Ensigns display'd.

His Holinesses Warlike Temper was chill'd of a sudden: He courted Peace with Precipitation, as he had with Levity declar'd War; and chose rather to address himself to *Lorenzo de Medici*, for the negotiating it, than to any other, it being in his Power sooner to conclude it, and without observing the wonted Formalities.

Thus *Lorenzo* was the Arbiter of *Italy*, and perform'd this glorious Commission with so much Address, that he merited the Pope's Amity, without abating the least of the *Neapolitan* King's Interests: For this Pontiff having on one side acknowledg'd the Fault he had unseasonably committed; and on the other, *Lorenzo's* Moderation not suffering that the King of *Naples* should derive any

any other advantage from the rising and lowring Commotions of the Ecclesiastick State, than that of Conquering what lawfully appertain'd to him ; His Holiness was so affected with this Heroe's Virtue, that he since rais'd the House of *Medici* to the Sovereignty we now see it stand possess'd of.

The Pope had been marry'd in his Youth, and the eldest of his Children, call'd *Abe*, was to be Head of that Illustrious House, and Heir of that of *Malespina*, which possess'd two Principalities, and other fair Territories in *Italy*. *Lorenzo de Medici* was desir'd to give him in Marriage *Margarita* his eldest Daughter, and the Nuptials were celebrated with such Magnificence as held nothing of a Private Life. Afterwards the College of Cardinals was assembled to ratifie the Intention the Pope had of making *Giovanni de Medici*, *Lorenzo's* youngest Son, Cardinal, tho' he had not yet accomplish'd his Thirteenth year of age. The thing was difficult, in that since *John* the Twelfth's Papacy, and the Calamities with which it was attended, all the Sovereign Pontiffs that succeeded him, to the number of above Fifty, had establish'd for inviolable Laws, That thenceforward no Person should be admitted into the Sacred College, before his Majority. However, the Suffrages of the Cardinals were so carefully

carefully hook'd in, and they were inspir'd with so auspicious a Desire to slacken in favour of the Pope, who had not neglected to solicit them in private, one after another; and in consideration of *Lorenzo de Medici*, who had newly freed them from a War, during which all their Revenues had been sequestred; that at length they consented to what was required of them, on Condition it should be by way of Dispensation onely, and without turning to a Consequence.

Hitherto *Lorenzo's* Virtue had appear'd more Military than Civil, as having found little Exercise save in War. But the profound Tranquillity he had procur'd to his Country, gave him leisure to lay himself wholly open, and expose to view the other part of his Soul, which was no less admirable in Peaceable Functions. He had observ'd, that the Commonwealth of *Florence* had ever been attack'd on two sides; namely, on that of *Sienna*, and on that of *Mount Apennine*. By way of Fortifying the former, he caus'd an Imperial City, call'd *Poggio*, to be rebuilt, upon an Eminence, and Peopl'd it with the poor Inhabitants of *Poggibonzi*, whose Houses the Duke of *Calabria* had burnt, for having held too long out against his Army. And to cut off Access to the second, he repair'd *Fierosola*, situated upon the High-way

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of *Bologna*, and enclos'd it with Walls, flank'd with new Towers, of the famous Engineer, *Mark Anthony de St. Gal's* Invention.

But for fear the Quarrels, which often arose among the Neighbours of his Republick, might disturb the Repose it enjoy'd, by reducing it to side sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, he made a League between the *Florentines*, and the Lords of *Perugia*, and of *Citta di Castella* in *Bologna*, and of *Sienna*, whereof the two Principal Articles stipulated, in case there fell out any Difference between two of the Confederates, they should be bound to submit it to the Arbitrement of the rest, and comply with the Decision made by Plurality of Voices; and that he of the two that refus'd acquiescing in the Sentence, should be constrain'd to it by force of Arms, which should be us'd against her, till he had executed it to all intents and purposes. This Confederacy joyn'd to the Authority *Lorenzo* had acquir'd in those Princes Minds, render'd them so submissive to him, that they did thenceforward nothing of moment but by his Counsels, and enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity during his Life.

Some of them there were that endeavour'd to imitate him in the new Order he put the Affairs of his Republick, and study'd him

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(as I may say) in his so improving the Juncture, when there was not a *Florentine* that durst thwart his Intentions, by bestowing on his Friends, in their several turns, the Principal Offices of State, with a just Temperament, and without Men of the highest Quality taking any Umbrage: for tho' such Persons had not any peculiar Engagement with him, provided they were not wanting in Merit, he boggl'd not at employing them in Affairs for keeping up Decorum; and creating Emulation in others.

As for the *Florentines*, *Lorenzo* knew, that to obviate their being Mutinous, it was necessary to produce them the Opportunities of gaining, and to procure and exhibit to them from time to time new Subjects of Divertisements. To indulge the former of these two Passions, he devis'd putting a Sum of Money into the Hands of the Overseers, and those having the Superintendency of the Publick Provisions, that they might afford them at a cheaper rate. But after he had found by experience, that they were less oblig'd to him for this private Liberality, and that, in case he continu'd, he should infallibly incur the Suspicion and Hatred of the Nobility, he chang'd his Method, and fell to building a House of Pleasure at *Cajana*, where all the Poor of *Florence*,

and Parts adjacent, might for a long time find occasion of getting their Livelihood; while at certain Feasts of the Year he took care to have Horse-racing and Turnaments, whereat the Youth with emulation shew'd their Agility.

He had likewise Comedies acted, tho' they were not then so regular as afterwards under his Son's Popedom; and when his Factors at *Grand Cairo* had sent him Wild-Beasts, he made them bait and fight one another before the *Florentines*, who were so much the more greedy of this Diversion, as that *Italy* had not had the like Entertainment since the Luxury of the first *Cæsars*.

But as he had a nice Wit in Gallantry, as well as in all other things, he fell to refining the Carnival Recreations, and rendring them more ingenious, and more capable of being relish'd by Persons of Honour. For the better understanding of what I am going to say, it is to be suppos'd, that the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins*, by obliging the Citizens of *Florence* to rub out Day and Night in Arms, had introduc'd into their Sports a World of Libertine Actions, which favour'd of War; and had at last degenerated into such a Brutality, as that it was honourable to shun them, and scandalous to frequent them; for in these Recreations

tions they onely combated for infamous Objects, Feasted onely to be drunk; the Balls were follow'd with Prostitution; and the Theatres expos'd nothing that could be seen by innocent Eyes, or heard by chaste Ears.

However, *Lorenzo de Medici* undertook to purifie this sort of Festivals; and to accomplish it the more cunningly, and without being expos'd at first to the Publick Raille-ry, he conferr'd with all the Gallants, and all the Wits of *Italy*, about the Reformation he intended. After which, he fram'd the Design of representing at the Carnaval Histories of Antiquity, which were becoming all sorts of Persons, and instructed at the same time they diverted. Thus they chose the first time to give the People a Spectacle, whose Representation may be still seen in a Manuscript of the *French King's* Library, enrich'd with Noble Figures. It was the Combate of *Hercules*, and of the other Heroes that assisted at the Nuptial of *Pirithous*, against the *Centaur*s. The Painters, the Sculpters, and Architects, shar'd among them the Decoration of the Prospects, and of the Publick Places: the briskest of the Nobility, and of the Citizens, were exercis'd by experienc'd Masters. The Battel was fought with all the Skill and Artifice

imaginable, and the *Florentines* received so much satisfaction in this Entertainment, that *Lorenzo* thought it convenient to continue it, and took for three Years following the three Triumphs of *Petrarch*.

His Gallantry was not confin'd to this Amusement; for as Prizes were given in the Principal Cities of *Italy* for Horse-racing, he caus'd Barbs of a prodigious fleetness to come from *Africa*, which were dress'd with so much care, that they won the Day at *Rome*, at *Milan*, at *Naples*, at *Venice*, and in all other Places where the List was open to them. The Prizes they gain'd consisted in Plate and Precious Stuffs, which were all employ'd in the Decoration of Altars, that the People seeing them, might with pleasure call him to mind by whom they were Dedicated. So many Foresights did he use for improving, even to the least Occasions of preserving, or augmenting, the Love the People bore him.

He did, however, all those things with an Air, as sufficiently shew'd his main drift was in all such Contrivances chiefly to furnish to the Publick Recreations, suffering little of his own time to be couzen'd with these Shews; for his most precious Hours were busied in maintaining Peace in his Country, in stifling the Seeds of Civil Wars, which
budded

budded from time to time among the *Florentines*. And as he could not doubt but that this particular Peace depended on that of *Italy* in general, he establish'd a Sanction among the Princes and Republicks of the Country, which lasted as long as his Life. His Cloſet became the Rendezvous of all their Deputies. In it, for four Years together, were terminated all the Bickerings and Differences they had with one another. In it were the Measures taken, they bound themselves voluntarily to keep, and which they never broke. In one of those Politick Conferences it was, *Lorenzo* chanc'd to ſtate, upon hearing the Marriage of *Charles* the Eighth of *France* with the Heireſs of *Pittany*, That *Italy* would be in great Danger, as ſoon as *France* came to know its own Strength.

Thus the Fable of the *Gauliſh Hercules* being become a Truth, and there being a Man in the World, who without Power and Character govern'd at his own Pleaſure the Part of *Europe* the moſt jealous of its Freedom, the moſt wary and conſiderate, and the moſt difficult to manage. This Miracle equally ſurpriz'd Nations the neareſt and moſt remote from *Italy*, and *Bajazet* the Second, Emperour of the *Turks*, ſent to teſtifie to *Lorenzo de Medicis* the Eſteem he had for his

Virtue, at the same time that *Matthias Corvin*, King of *Hungary*, render'd him the same Office by a Solemn Embassie.

The famous *Cayte-Bey*, Souldan of *Egypt*, caus'd such Precious and such Magnificent Things to be presented him at *Florence*, that never Prince had receiv'd the like in the highest Lustre of the *Roman Empire*; for besides Jewels, Gold, Balm, Benjamin, Perfumes, and Vestments, there was a Camel-Leopard, so enormous for his Bigness, and so lovely to behold, for the Diversity of his Colours, wherewith his Skin was spotted,

that People came from all Parts to view him. The most famous Painters drew him, and the Theatres employ'd some Months in the Description of this Animal; which serv'd in some manner to comfort *Lorenzo de Medici* for the loss of him. When the change of Air and Food had occasion'd his Death at eight Months end. And Testimonies of this Creature, so many ancient Testimonies accounted Fabulous, that the *Indies* being more known, and *America* discover'd, there is not a Leopard of this Kind. In the mean while, *Lorenzo's* Daughter, who had married the Pope's Son, was brought to Bed of a Male Child; and his Holiness making her a Visit, desir'd her to

to ask of him some Favour. She comply'd, but not in the manner that was expected; for instead of speaking of what might pamper the Ambition of a young Woman, the Sympathy and Tenderness she had for her young Brother the Cardinal, induc'd her to desire onely, that he might come and dwell at *Rome*. The Pope, being no less charm'd with her Virtue, than with her incomparable Beauty, dispatch'd a Courrier to *Florence*, to prevail with *Lorenzo* to recall his Son the Cardinal from *Pisa*, where he compleated his Studies, and to send him to the Court of *Rome*, with a Promise of conferring on him the Privileges of Cardinal-Nephew, and of considering him in that Quality. *Lorenzo* could have been very well content not to introduce his Son upon so great a Theatre of the World, at so green an Age; however, as he lov'd him too well to deprive him of a Conjunction so propitious to his Fortune, he allow'd him to take a Journey to *Rome*; but he caus'd so pompous an Equipage to be prepar'd for him, that tho' Luxury was sufficiently great at the Pope's Court, by the means of the Cardinals of *Naples* and of *Milan*, where they had matriculated it of late years, nothing near his Magnificence had been seen. Yet this was not what *Lorenzo* apply'd his Thoughts most to; for he was

much more sollicitous of his Son's Education, than his Train. He set about him such Persons onely whose Probity was known to him; and the Governours he had in his Youth, were Men consummated in the Study and Exercise of Politick Prudence.

Lorenzo de Medici did himself contribute to this Instruction, what Experience had taught him; and robbing his Sleep of the Hours he could not spare from Affairs, he wrote a Book after the Example of *Tully's Offices*, for the teaching his Son how to acquire himself like a Man of Quality at the Court of *Rome*, of all the Duties of Civil Life. He represented the Dignity of Cardinal in all its Extent; he examin'd the Talent requisite to maintain it: Withal, admirably well describing the *Genius* of those who were then honour'd with the Sacred Purple, and of the Principal Persons who made a Figure about his Holiness; he shew'd distinctly the Air with which he was to act with each of them in particular.

Now this would be the Place to set down an Extract of that Book; but as it perished so absolutely, during *Lorenzo's* long Exile, that there is not the least Fragment of it remaining, we know nothing more of it, than what I have newly couch'd. *Lorenzo's* other Works, in Verse and in Prose, have not had a
more

more propitious Destiny; and we should hardly have known he had been an Author, if the Printed Letters and Manuscripts of his Friends, whereof I mean to speak in the following Book, did not make mention of his Odes, Sonets, Gallant Letters, and a Dialogue of the Nature of Love, divided into Five Parts; and if *Paulus Jovius*, his Contemporary, had not fill'd his Eulogy among those of the most celebrated Modern Authors.

Hardly had the Cardinal *de Medici* receiv'd and repaid the Visits of the Sacred College, when he was oblig'd to return to *Florence*, by Occurrences I am going to describe. His Father, being retir'd to his Country-house at *Carrego*, to vacate to the Study of Philosophy, with the most Learned of his Friends, perceiv'd a Comet, whose Influence was so malign to him, that he was taken with a Fever the same day. On the morrow at Noon (the Weather being altogether Serene, and none of the fore-running Signs of Thunder appearing, the Lightning fell suddenly upon the Principal Church of *Florence*, call'd *Santa Maria del Fiore*, without causing other Damage, than breaking the Arms of the House of *Medici*, that were set upon the highest Pinnacle. Some moments after, a hideous Noise was heard in the Place
where

where they kept the Wild Beasts for the Peoples Diversion; and they afterwards found, they had all mutiny'd against an extraordinary great and furious Lion, so as that their Keepers were not able to hinder them from tearing him piece-meal, and that after this Execution they were of themselves appeas'd.

As the *Italians* easily puzzle their Heads with Thoughts of the Future, they fail'd not to make Predictions upon these three Prodigies, which were almost all justify'd by the Event. But none, save *Savonarola*, a Religious of the Order of *St. Dominic*, carried the Prophecy to its due Extent, by preaching in the most famous Auditory of *Elarence*, That the *Italians* having fill'd the measure of their Sins, God, who would no longer defer their Punishment, was going to bereave them of the only Man that maintain'd their Tranquillity; and that incontinently after his Death, they would worry one another, and be expos'd a Prey to Foreign Nations. Yet however eminent was already *Savonarola's* Renown, and tho' he employ'd all his Eloquence, the greatest of the latter Ages, to procure Belief, he hardly perswaded any to give credence to his Assertions; and those who were most concern'd to appease the Anger of Heaven, lov'd ra-

ther

ther to imagine, that this admirable Preacher threatned them through a prepossession of Spirit disadvantageous to the House of *Medici*, than resolve upon doing Penance.

SECRETARY

OF

HOUSE

OF

The End of the Third Book.

MEDICIS.

The Fourth Book.

NEVER was any Disease more
common than that which is call'd
the Colic, and it is very often
the beginning of a very ill
and to which the patient is
his friends thought they knew the Cause.
They

to imagine, that this admirable Faculty
of Nature, which is the Author of all
the Gifts of Heaven, could be the Author of
any thing more than a moderate Plague.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

The Fourth Book.

NEver was any Disease more treacherous than that which seiz'd *Lorenzo de Medici*, on the very Day the Comet first appear'd. It was in the beginning onely a very slight Fever, and so much the less to be dreaded, in that his Friends thought they knew its Causes. They

They judg'd it to be excited by an Obstruction complain'd of by the Patient, and that this Obstruction could onely be imputed to the Malignity of the Rheum, of which he suffred ev'ry Moment strange Defluxions: Yet the Fits continuing, tho' not augmenting, *Lorenzo's* Relations and Adherents sent for *Piero Leoni*, the most celebrated Physician in *Italy*, from *Spoletto*.

That what I am going to relate, may be the better understood, it is necessary to presuppose, That this *Leoni* was the first who since the fall of the *Roman* Empire had thought of questing after the Medicinal Art in the Ancient *Greek* Authors; whereas those of his time addicted to that Profession, commonly study'd onely the Writings of *Arabian* Physicians. He had translated with so much fidelity and eloquence the most considerable Works of *Galen*, and was become so famous by the Novelty and Importance of this Performance, as to be offer'd the Principal Professor of Physick's Chair at *Padona*, where he had taught with applause during several Years. But his ill Genius pushing him into the Snare wherein most Physicians were then entangled, (I mean) Judicial Astrology, he was become so expert that way, as to be consulted from all Parts of *Italy*. One day the Fancy took him

him to calculate his own Nativity. He found he was born under so malign a Constellation, that he must infallibly be drown'd by an unforeseen Accident. The fear he was in of this falling out accordingly, made him quit *Padoua*, as being call'd to *Venice*, whither he could not go but by Water: And that besides, by making a long abode at *Padoua*, he could by no means have dispens'd passing over the Bridge, which he suppos'd would fall under him. He had Estate sufficient to subsist on any where at ease; and if he prefer'd dwelling in his own Country before others, he did it on the account of there being neither Torrent nor River.

Whereupon he return'd to *Spoleto*, where he remain'd Ten years, without setting Foot over his Threshold. But at length his Renown attracted him so great a number of Visits, that Civility pressing him to repay some of them, he grew insensibly wean'd from that hideous Apprehension he had harbour'd of Waters. He began to pass over the Bridge on Foot, afterwards pass'd in on Horseback. He since ventur'd to Ferry over Rivers: He went by Boat on Brooks. But as Hazard does ever extraordinary things, when Prudence has resolv'd to bring about some surprizing Contingencies, it came into *Lorenzo's* Friends thoughts, to commit to

Leoni

Leoni the Concern of his Cure. They invited him to *Carrega*, with all the Reasons and Allurements of Honour and Profit, capable of tempting him; and prevail'd with him at last to undertake the Journey, after having been thorowly inform'd there were no Risques for him to run. He came; saw the Sick Man; observ'd all the Symptoms of his Malady with the utmost exactness; joyn'd the Predictions of Judicial Astrology, to the Indications of Physick; and from all these things together, unhappily concluded, That there was nothing to be fear'd in the Distemper they had in hand; that there needed not any Remedy; and, that Nature, that would not fail to rouse it self in due time, would have sufficient strength to loosen and disperse the ill Humours which fed the Fever, and to reestablish the Patient in perfect Health. *Leoni's* Advice was follow'd with the utmost punctuality: but they likewise perceiv'd, that Nature, in stead of making its Efforts in the Critical Days, grew still weaker and weaker, and insensibly sunk and dwindl'd. *Lodovico Sforza*, having Spies throughout all *Italy*, was inform'd how Matters stood. And as he had an Int'rest in *Lorenzo de Medici's* Life, as thinking him too Pacifick to suffer any Disturbance in the Tutelage of the Dutchy

Duchy of *Milan*, tho' he had usurp'd the Station, he sent with all diligence to *Carlo rego*, *Lazaro de Plaisanza*, the most famous Physician of *Lombardy*, dwelling then at *Pavia*. *Lazaro* visiting the Sick, despair'd of him at the very first, and plainly declar'd, it was impossible to cure him. He shew'd the Malignity of the Phlegm, which had seisd upon the Noble Parts, that Remedies were no longer capable of driving it thence. And, or that the loss of so Great a Person augmented his Indignation, or that he was overjoy'd with having found an Occasion to disparage *Leoni*, the onely Physician that gave a Jealousie to his Fame, he took delight in demonstrating, by indubitable Proofs, and even by Trials made upon the Patient's Body, that had he been prescrib'd the Common Courses, he would infallibly have recover'd his pristine Vigour.

While the Family of *Medici* were cursing *Leoni's* Negligence and Temerity, *Lorenzo* being inform'd that his End was near at hand, appear'd no more mov'd, than if some indifferent News had been brought him; and carry'd his steadiness of Courage to the very last Degree that Philosophy teaches it can go. He comforted his Friends, gave them all the Orders and Directions he judg'd to be necessary after his Death; regulated his Dome-

stick

stick Concerns by a Will, which could not be more humble, or judicious; and taking his leave of the World, refus'd seeing any other than Ecclesiastick and Religious Persons. He expir'd in their Arms, after having giv'n Tokens of a most Christian Submission, and receiv'd all the Sacraments. There wanted three Months of his having accomplish'd forty three Years, and it was not known any of his House had died so young, of a natural Death, since the time of its being in Eminency. His Death plung'd all those of his Family into a Consternation, the upshot of which was, their falling into a fury.

Piero de Medici his eldest Son, who deriv'd from his Mother all his Impetuosities and Transports, went out of the Chamber, where, according to Custom, he had clos'd his Father's Eyes, when he perceiv'd *Leoni* crossing the Court-yard. This Object, offering it self so unseasonably to his sight, redoubl'd his Rage: He ran after him to strangle him; but having sound him near a Well, whose Brink was not very high, he chang'd his Design; and as he was extraordinary robust, he seiz'd *Leoni* about the Waste, and tumbl'd him into the Well.

The Skreams of this poor Old Man, and the Noise he made in falling, oblig'd some
 Q Domesticks

Domesticks to run to his Assistance; but the Water had already suffocated all the natural Heat he had remaining: Which verifi'd the Prediction by which he had formerly doom'd himself to be drown'd. The Friends of the House of *Medici* spread abroad the Rumour, That *Leoni* had been so sensible for the loss of his Reputation, that he fell mad at *Carregio*, and threw himself into a Well. But Providence never fails of finding out the Secret to manifest Crimes, when it has resolv'd to punish them in Publick. They hinder'd for some time the ill Effect *Piero de Medici's* Inhumanity would have had in the World, if it had been known. But there was no hindring his losing his Life in the same manner he bereft the unfortunate *Leoni* of his, as I shall make appear in the Sequel of this Work.

Now this would be the Place to finish *Lorenzo de Medici's* Portrait; but the Grati-
fications which the most *Christian* King con-
fers on Men of Learning, at *Monsieur Colbert's*
Recommendation, agreeably invites me to
bestow the rest of this Book on the Merit
of the onely Personage of the last Century,
who since *Mecenas*, in a Private Fortune,
has render'd his Name Famous by that sort
of Magnificence.

I say then, That *Lorenzo's* predominant
Inclination

Inclination was ever for Learned Men. He hurs'd up these Squab-Virtuoso's in Literature almost from the very Cradle, and destin'd them by a rare Fore-knowledge to Sciences and Arts, whereof they would be one day capable, when as they were yet but learning to read. He prevail'd with the *Florentines* to build them Schools, and gave them Annual Pensions out of his own Estate. He was the just Estimator of true Virtue, in what Place soever it was found. He did not content himself with caressing the Muses, and receiving them commonly at his Table, (as did then the Kings of *Hungary* and of *Naples*) but he took the pains to exercise them in all such kinds in which they were best capable of performing, nay, and to spirit them by his own Example. Into their own Country did he send the Learned *Greeks*, who had made their Retreat to him after the taking of *Constantinople*, that so they might buy up there the Best and most Ancient Manuscripts, that had been pillag'd; and gave them for that purpose such considerable Sums, that they brought enow back again to form that famous Library, one part of whose Wrecks is now what is most Curious in that of the *French King*. I reserve for another Place the History of that Library, and of the strange Revolutions it suffer'd

fer'd from the time *Charles* the Eighth expos'd it to Plunder, unto the Regency of *Catharine of Medicis*, who got, half by Force, half by Cunning, what we have now remaining of it, out of the Hands of the *English*; and would never consent, during her Life-time, that those Manuscripts should be mingl'd with those of the King's. I shall onely here set down one Particularity, which I have seen several times; namely, That most of those Manuscripts were bought so dear, that there are those that cost upon the Places a hundred Golden Crowns.

This Library was put into the Palace of *Medici*, for an Invitation thither of the Learned'st Men of *Europe*. Provision was made for their daily Reception, and they had the Means afforded them of Studying with their Conveniency. Conferences were held, at which *Lorenzo de Medici* assisted, and spoke in his turn. And there it was he began the Design of making Physical and Astronomical Experiments, which are now continu'd for the Publick Benefit, under the Direction of Prince *Leopold de Medici*.

They assembl'd on the same Design all the Antick Monuments which could serve to fashion young Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. All such were invited thither, and were willing to be instructed or perfectioned

red in those three Arts: They had excellent Masters appointed to train them up. Provision was made for the Maintenance of such as needed it: And *Lorenzo's* Purse was ever open to whoever list'd himself above what's vulgar. Assist they did at the Scrutinies which the Skilful made of their Works. They were brought to note the Defects of them. In each Piece was shewn them what was wanting to its attaining an ultimate Perfection. And they were much better'd by the Emulation which was carefully nourish'd among them, for the finishing them the sooner. From thence it came, that *Michael Angelo* improv'd so well in this Illustrious School, that he counterfeited at nineteen years of age an Antick Head, in such manner, as that it was impossible to distinguish the Original from the Copy.

This Application of *Lorenzo's* in his Palace, did not hinder him from contributing with the same vigour to the Studies of the Youth in the Cities subjected to his Republick of *Florence*. He knew the City of *Pisa* was disconsolate for the loss of her Liberty: And to divert her from those gloomy thoughts, he persuaded the *Florentines* to found there an University, which would have become the most flourishing of *Italy*, had it persever'd in the same Principles

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it commenc'd. There had he Chairs erect-
ed for all sorts of Sciences. Thither had
they attracted, by the greatness of the
Recompence, the most renown'd Professors
of other Universities. There were they
maintain'd with Lustre. And to tempt
Strangers to come thither in greater num-
bers, young Cardinal *de Medici* went to
study in this place the Civil and Canon Law,
Lorenzo took ever and anon a Journey thi-
ther, to judge of the Progress, and distribute
the Prizes to the Students: But he never
went, without taking along seven Learned
Men, whom he had cull'd out from among
others, with them to establish a peculiar
Engagement. The first was *Johannes Picus de
la Mirandola*: The second, *Angelus Politia-
nus*: The third, *Marfileo Ficino*: The fourth,
Christofano Laudini: *Johannes Lascaris*, the
fifth: The sixth, *Demetrius Calchondilas*: And
the seventh, *Marcellus Trachamontano*. Howe-
ver, I shall not first speak of them. And lest
it be imagin'd, that I mean to prefer them
before the other Wits which appear'd, in
that most happy Conjunction, I rank them
according to the Order of Times they came
acquainted with *Lorenzo*; and I begin with
the famous *Leonard*, who, for that he was
born in the City of *Arezzo*, upon the Terri-
tory of *Florence*, took upon him the Name
of

of *Aretine*. He was already very old, when he bestow'd his Cares on *Lorenzo de Medici's* first Education, and enjoy'd all the Glory acquir'd him by his Sufficiency and long Labours. He began to be famous at eighteen years of age: And as he had got a Fancy in his Head, to re-introduce in *Europe* the Study of the *Greek* Tongue, which had been neglected since the Inundation of the Barbarous Nations, and that he had succeeded that way to admiration, he made himself necessary to the Court of *Rome*, which did not then refrain keeping secret Correspondencies with the Eastern Bishops, tho' separated from their Communion. Thus *Aretin* was call'd from *Florence*, where he still studied, and Pope *Innocent* the Seventh made him his Secretary. And as he was extraordinary parcimonious, he scrap'd together in that Employment a Fund sufficient to spend the rest of his Days at ease, and then made an honourable Retreat into his Country, where he might have enjoy'd in quiet the Advantages of his Fortune, if the same sparing Humour wherewith he was besieg'd, had not thwarted his own Happiness. This Infirmary render'd him almost generally contemptible, and trump't him up the Aversion of such People as knew not otherwise his Merit. The facetious *Artefe* compos'd a kind of Novel

in imitation of *Boccaccio*, wherein he wittily lash'd and railly'd *Aretine*, by representing his stroaling, vagabond Humour about hidden Treasures, spending Day and Night in telling Gold and Silver, and busied with new Contrivances to heap up Pelf. He also drew him pensive and thoughtful upon extraordinary Usuries, and so prodigiously thirsty after anothers Good, that all the Waters of *Pago* and of *Pactolus*, which God *Mammon* pour'd into his Mouth, could not quench his Thirst. *Lorenzo*, however, did not miss of prevailing with him, by sacrificing something to his Avidity, to engage him afterwards to labour for the Publick. And by this innocent Stratagem was it, that *Aretine* sell of himself to translate *Aristotle's* Problems into *Latin* with the utmost accuracy, and wrote very judiciously the History of his own Country. He liv'd above Fourscore years, dying however soon enough not to receive in his Life time the Affront he had merited by a notorious Larceny. He had met with a new Manuscript of *Procopius* his *Gothique* History, and imagining there was never another extant, none having been found among the Books sav'd from the Pillage of *Constantinople*, the Whim took him to burn it, after having printed the Work under his own Name, without fearing

ing to pass for an Infamous Plagiary with Posterity. This Changeling, while *Aretine* liv'd, redounded much to his Honour: But scarce were his Eyes clos'd, than that *Christoforo Persena* said, he had got another Manuscript of the said *Procopius*, containing the Wars of the *Persians* and *Vandals*, besides those of the *Goths*, and caus'd them to be printed, with a Preface so injurious to *Aretine's* Memory, that his being no longer in a condition to read it, was reckon'd for none of the least of his Good-fortunes. Moreover his Heirs were so little careful of the Works he had not yet publish'd, that the better part of them would be still unknown, if the Learned *Monsieur de la Mare*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, had not taken the pains to poak them out of the Dust of the most famous Libraries, principally out of that of the most *Christian* King, and of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and collected them into a Volumn.

The gay, facetious *Poggio* labour'd at the same time with *Aretine* on *Lorenzo de Medicis's* Education, and infinitely contributed to dispel what appear'd too gloomy in his Infancy. He had travell'd throughout all *Europe*, and most industriously visited the Archives of Monasteries. He was the first that found out *Tully's* Books which treat of

* *Laws*,

* *De Finibus
& Legibus.*

* *Laws, and of the Ends of Good and Evil.* He had likewise the good luck to discover *Quintilian's* Institutions, and his first Nineteen Declamations, as he was feretting the Shop of a German Grocer, just as he was going to tear them, to make Wrappers of for his Commodities. And those who know, that this was the onely Copy in the World, will have eternal Obligations to *Poggio's* Memory. *Eugenius* the Fourth, and *Nicholas* the Fifth, made use of him in Quality of Secretary. And this Commission would have gain'd him vast Riches, if he himself, by the following Adventure, had not contributed to his own Disgrace. He was naturally Curious, and yet his Conversation extreme diverting, because never Man proceeded sooner or more imperceptibly, from the starched'st, severest Gravity, into the freest Mirth and Gaiety. This Quality, which made him one in all gallant Meetings and Entertainments, would have advanc'd him very high, if he had confin'd within any bounds his easie proneness to Drollery. But People began to grow weary of affording him Attention, when they saw him lash out into the most keen and poynant Satyr, and not valuing to lose a Friend, rather than not have the Pleasure of springing a Witticism. One day that they

they were Criticizing the Briefs, (as was customary) in a company of Learned Men, *Poggio* could not endure that they commended one drawn up by *Giorgiodi Trebizond*, and this Satyrical Verse started from him:

Græculus esuriens ad Cælum iusseris, ibit.

George not understanding Raillery, answer'd him immediately with a Cuff or two on the Ear, which were follow'd with so general a Laughter, that *Poggio* was constrain'd to step aside and leave *Rome* on the morrow, where he rightly judg'd, there was nothing more for him to do, after such an Affront. Thus he return'd to *Florence*, where he translated into *Latin* the *Greek* History of *Diodorus Siculus*, and made excellent Tracts on the Infidelity of Princes, on the Capriciousness of Fortune, and the Contagion of Avarice. But as it was fatal to him to detract ever to his Cost, he attack'd *Lorenzo Val*, of whom it was then said, That Nature had kneaded him all of Choler. And indeed, he answer'd *Poggio* with such fell Scurrilities and Execrations, that he made him quit the Match, to set upon the History of his Country, which he wrote in *Latin* competently pure, and *Giacomo Poggio* his Son translated it with much

much Elegancy into *Italian*. But this Work was happy neither for the Author, nor the Translator ; for they kept so little moderation in their commending the *Florentines*, and decrying their Adversaries, that they could neither be accounted bad Citizens, nor good Historians, as *Sannazar* twits them by this excellent Epigram.

*Dum Patriam laudat, damnat dum Poggius
hostem*

Nec malus est Civis, nec bonus Historianus.

The Father dy'd a little afore the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy ; and the Son being engag'd among those coop'd up in the Town-house of *Florence*, in thinking to surprise it, *Lorenzo de Medici* in vain endeavour'd to save him from the Rope.

Ambrosio da Camaldoli was the first Religious of his time, who apply'd his Mind to the Study of Polite Letters. He translated the Work of the Hierarchy attributed to *St. Denis*, with so much eloquence and neatness, that none have since come near his Style. But he sped not so well in the Translation of *Diogenes Laertius*. He was General of his Order, and the Popes *Eugenius* the Fourth, and *Nicholas* the Fifth, could not entice him from his Solitude, by proposing

posing to him the Dignity of Cardinal, as an Attraction to get him to the Court of *Rome*. He persever'd in his Hermitage unto a profound old age, in an healthful Chearfulness, which procur'd him the Visits of the Worthy'st Persons in *Tuscany*; and he it was *Lo-renzo de Medici* pitch'd on to reconcile *Lo-renzo Val* with *Poggio*. He endeavour'd it for a long while, but with so little Success, that they since gave him reason to averr, in a Letter written to the Prince of *Mirandola*, That he had found them neither *Christians*, nor Men of Reason.

Antonio da Palermo was born at *Bologna*, of the Illustrious Family of *Beccarelli*; but without any Estate. He had Eight hundred Crowns Pension to teach History to the last Duke of *Milan* of the House of *Visconti*, from whence he went to *Naples*, to be King *Alfonso's* Secretary. He accompany'd that Prince in all his Wars and Voyages, and was Eye-witness of most of the Wonders he relates of him, in a Book that has had the Honour to be enrich'd and re-touch'd by Pope *Pius* the Second. He was very Moderate for the first Sev'nty years of his Life; but at Sev'nty one, a fair Maid of *Naples*, call'd *Marcilla*, inspir'd him with Love, and made him think on Marriage. He had by her several Children, and dy'd Ten years after,
with

with so little Pain and Distraction, that a moment before he expir'd, he made his own Epitaph.

Lorenzo Val was the first *Roman* in whose Head it came to repair the Damage the Barbarous Nations had done the Study of the *Latin* Tongue. He compos'd Books of Elocution, which quickned the *Roman* Youth with a Desire to hunt in the Works of the Ancients for the Purity of Expressions, that had been natural to them. He carefully translated *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, tho' his Fidelity has since been much question'd by *Henry Estienne*, in those two Works. But he was of so malign a Disposition, that he could not speak of any Man without Detraction. He took fire on the least occasion; and when he had once begun to ferment, it was impossible for him to abstain from the bitterest Invectives, or to be brought to a Reconciliation with those he had offended. Thus finding no longer any one to Criticise upon in the Court of *Rome*, he remov'd to that of *Naples*, where he got immediately into Credit, by the Offer he made to write the most Illustrious Actions of *Naples*. He went about it with all his might, but with so little Success, that his Adversaries had reason to upbraid him, That he had fall'n himself into all the Faults, which he had so often reprovd

prov'd in others. This Disgrace, it's thought, made him banish himself from King *Alfonso's* Court; and that the anxiety of surviving his Reputation, made him take pet and die, at Fifty years of age. And the *Romans* could hardly be prevail'd with to suffer him to be bury'd in the Church of *Lateran*, whereof he was a Canon, for that he had made way for others to doubt of their Pretensions, by writing against the Donation of the Emperour *Constantine* to Pope *Sylvester*. They would have had more reason to contest him so honourable a Sepulture, on the score of the Scandal and ill Example he had giv'n in the Commonwealth of Learning, by first publishing whole Books of Investives and Recriminations.

Fabius Blondus was born at *Furli*, of the Scum of the People, and earn'd Preferment and a Name, by his Courage, in undertaking to write the huge Decades of the Civil Wars of *Italy*, whose Memoirs were upon the point of being lost, because there was not a Person willing to apply his Endeavours to so tedious and irksom a Subject. He since compos'd another Piece, of the Revolutions hapning during the Decaydency and Restauration of the *Roman* Empire, with so much satisfaction to Pope *Nicolas* the Fifth, who set him to work, that he made great Gains by
this

this Atchievement; and it is verily believ'd he would have attain'd to the most eminent Dignities, had he not preferr'd Wedlock to an Ecclesiastick State. He marry'd a *Roman* Lady of great Quality, by whom he had several Children, who had the Misfortune to become miserably poor; he dy'd at Seventy years old, and was bury'd at the Door of our Lady of *Ara Celi*. I have sometimes made enquiry how it comes this Author is so little known, and have found no other Cause, but that he had the misfortune, a hundred years after his Death, that *Carolus Sigonius* took a fancy to write upon the same Subject: And as he was less entangl'd, and more methodick than *Blondus*, he ravish'd him of his Reputation with so much excess, that he now serves onely for Parade in Libraries, tho' otherwise no Man can deny, but that *Sigonius* is almost all along the Plagiary of *Blondus*.

Candidus December went from *Vigevano*, where he was born, to *Milan*. He became the best Critick in *Europe*, in *Lorenzo Val's* Judgment, who never commended any other Grammarian of his time, save *Candidus*. He was the first Translator of *Appianus Alexandrinus*, which he did not speed in, however skilful in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, because he had made use of so faulty

A Manuscript, that he had been constrain'd to supply in several Places, upon feeble Conjectures, what was wanting to the Text. But, in recompence, he wrote the *Life of Filippo Visconti Duke of Milan*, in a Style so like to that of *Suetonius*, that none have since been able to come near it, no not *Paulus Jovius*, tho' he has endeavour'd it in the *Life of the Great Sforza*, surnam'd *Attendula*. True it is, he has ting'd and dash'd it with things so highly shocking Modesty, that it's a wonder, that, this notwithstanding, his Work has been infinitely esteem'd. He dy'd aged Fourscore, and was bury'd near the Library of *St. Ambrosio*, which had been long under his Care.

It is not without some Confusion, that I speak here of that famous *Algionus*, tho' he was the Learned'st *Venetian* of his Age, and that we have Letters of his, written with the utmost politeness, to *Lorenzo de Medici*. However, those who know him, have not been able to excuse him from two great Infirmities: The one, of getting drunk as often as he found the occasion; And the other, of having depriv'd Posterity of the most excellent of *Cicero's* Works, of which he had got the Manuscript. This wretched Plagiarism was under an Obligation of comforting the Proveditor *Cornaro*, in the Banishment

he was doom'd to, for having been routed in making War upon the *Turks*, tho' the Fault was none of his. *Algionus* sent him the Book entitl'd *De fortiter toleranda Exilii fortuna*. And as this Tract was wholly compos'd of Sentences sordily tack'd and jumbld together, and fitted out of *Cicero's* Book of *Glory*, yet was it much esteem'd, tho' the Judicious easily observ'd it had not any Connexion. *Algionus*, overjoy'd at the Success of his Work, chang'd the design he had had of causing *Cicero's* Piece to be printed: And as he knew there was no other Copy of it to be had, he committed it to the Flames, for fear there should be one day found among his Papers Matter for his Conviction. Nevertheless, he repented it tow'rds the end of his Life, and made a kind of an attoning Confession and Apology at the Head of two Harangues, which he compos'd at *Venice*, upon the Desolation of *Rome* by the *Lutherians*. The Publick is indebted to him for the Exactness which *Aldus Manucius* us'd in the Impression of the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors we now admire; for he was all his Life Corrector of that famous Press.

Never Man became more Learned, with less Health, and more Engagements incompatible with Study, than *Donatus*. I speak of him that issu'd from the Illustrious Family

family of the *Acagholi* at *Florence*. His Life was very short; being almost wholly spent in the most weighty and considerable Employments of the Republick. This notwithstanding, he fail'd not translating *Aristotle's Morals* much more exactly than those who had gone before him in that sort of Labour, nor of purging them with an admirable Commentary, of ridiculous Interpretations giv'n them by the Ancients, and new Sophists. Wherein he shew'd, That whosoever engages himself in this Labyrinth, without another Guide than the famous *Eustachius*, cannot avoid going astray. He found likewise time to translate the Lives of *Plutarch's* Illustrious Men, being the best Version we have of them in *Latin*; and to write a Book in Praise of *Charles-Main*, in acknowledgment for that Prince his having built or re-establish'd the City of *Florence*. He was a Confident of *Lorenzo de Medici*; and 'twas upon his Request he undertook a Journey into *France*, to solicit at that Court Succours for his Country, against Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth. He dy'd at *Milan*, ag'd Thirty eight years, and three Months after the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy.

Franciscus Philephus of *Tolentin* was so enamour'd of the *Greek* Tongue, that he would needs go view the Ruines of *Athens*,

to try if the Air of the Country could in any wise contribute to his Sufficiency. From thence he pass'd thorow *Constantinople*, where he married *Emanuel Chrysolorus* his Daughter, meerly for her pronouncing admirably well the ancient and new *Greek*. This Woman being intriguing, made her Husband known to the Emperour *Palæologus*, who sent him in Quality of Ambassador to the Christian Princes, to demand Succours against the *Turks*. *Philelphus* his Negotiation was of no benefit to the Emperour, but accru'd to his own advantage; for it brought him acquainted over all *Europe*, and principally at *Florence*, where *Lorenzo* engag'd him to translate the Works of *Hippocrates*, and *Xenophon's* *Rdgus miasias*. He likewise wrote the Life of *Francesco Sforza* in Heroick Verse, for which he receiv'd Noble Presents. He was at *Naples* when the News came of *Constantinople's* being taken, and King *Alfonso* staid him there by his Liberalities. He had also in that Place a Dispute with a Natural *Greek*, call'd *Timotheus*, upon the force of a *Greek* Syllable; and as the Contest was flush'd in good Company, *Philelphus* adventur'd to say, That he would bett a hundred Crowns, that the Opinion he held was true. *Timotheus* answer'd, he had not wherewith to take up his Wager; but that, to shew, if he had all the Treasures

Treasures in the World, he would make no difficulty of hazarding them to defend his Sentiment, he offer'd to stake his fine Beard, the thing which Men of his Country preserve with most fondness. *Philelphus* took him at his Word; and the hundred Crowns being consign'd into a third Hand, the Learned assembl'd in the King's Library, where they consulted the ancient Manuscripts, and found so clearly the poor *Timotheus* to be under a Mistake, that he gave the Verdict against himself, nay, and offer'd *Philelphus* a hundred Crowns to redeem his Beard. But this inexorable Conquerour was not to be prevail'd upon or by Entreaties, or by Pity, which any other would have had for poor disconsolate *Timotheus*: He cut it off, and expos'd it a long while to the view of his Auditors, for a Mark of his Triumph, on the side of his Chair wherein he publickly profess'd. As to the rest, never Man of Letters receiv'd more Gratuities from all sorts of Persons, than *Philelphus*; and yet never Man dy'd poorer. He expir'd at Ninety years of age, and all he had being sold, was hardly sufficient for the Charges of his Burial. He left a Son, call'd *Marinus*, a Man of no less Learning than his Father; but he neither inherited his Fame nor his Happiness.

Nicolo Perroti came from the same Town of *Cassoferrato* in *Umbria*, where the famous *Bartolus* was born. He first contriv'd putting the Rules of Grammar into Verse, that Youth might learn and remember them the more easily. His Tryal of Skill was the Traduction of *Polybius*, which he so acutely well perform'd, as made it question'd, whether it was he that did it, or if he had not found some ancient Translation of the said *Polybius*, and caus'd it to be printed under his own Name. The most Judicious durst not however arraign him of Plagiarism: They chose rather to produce him at the Court of *Rome*, which then did Justice to the Merit of all the Learned. *Perroti* became, after some years, Archbishop of *Manfrediana*, and Governour of the City of *Perrouza*; and of the Province of *Umbria*. Nay, he would have been Cardinal, had he not bubbld himself of the Cap, by debarring Cardinal *Bessarion* his Patron from being Pope, through an Adventure I shall hereafter relate. He quickly solac'd himself for this Loss, and chearfully spent the rest of his Life in a House of Pleasure he had fitted up to his Fancy, and call'd *Fugicula*. There did he compile a Commentary upon *Martial*, Learned and Curious in truth; but a little too Lascivious and too Libertine for an Arch-

Archbishop; which perchance hinder'd him from publishing it in his Life-time. He dy'd very old; and the Author of his Epitaph had reason to use these Words onely, *Here lies the Translator of Polybius*: For if the Work is *Perroti's*, none of all those who have made the *Greeks* speak *Latin*, not onely can be compar'd to him, or in any wise come near him.

Platina came to *Rome* from *Cremona*, the Place of his Birth, under the Popedom of *Calixtus* the Third. Cardinal *Bessarion* provided for his Subsistence, and set him a writing the Popes Lives; whose Style is pure, and Narration ingenious. *Paul* the Second made him afterwards his Secretary, and wrongfully suspecting him of having betray'd him, caus'd him to undergo the Irons, Dungeon, Rack, and other Mischiefs; which he himself relates with a most pathetick Air. In reparation of which, *Sixtus* the Fourth made him Library-keeper of the *Vatican*, where he compos'd Dialogues of *True Good*, *True Nobility*, *The Perfect Citizen*, and of *Honest Pleasure*. He dy'd almost without Pain, and left by Will his House of the *Quirinal* to serve for an Academy, and the Coronation of Poets. His Epitaph, which he himself made, is but of three Verses, sorrily enough turn'd, and desires no other Favour

of Passengers, but that they would not stir his Bones.

Giucchino Cardinal of *Patia* was a poor Boy, for his Merit adopted, and made Cardinal-Nephew by Pope *Pius* the Second. He was employ'd in all the Important Negotiations of his time, and nothing is wanting to the Letters he has left behind him, but the Politeness and Purity of the Tongue. He pass'd for the most worthy Subject of the Sacred College pretending to the Papacy, when falling ill at *Bolcenna*, at the persuasion of an ignorant Physician he took a kind of *Alelabore* call'd *Veratro*, which suffocated him in a trice.

Domitius Calderin was fetch'd from the Territory of *Verona*, his Native Country, by his *Mecenas* Cardinal *Bessarion*. His principal Talent lay in interpreting the most difficult Passages of the Poets, which he explain'd with so much neatness, and by such acute, ingenious Guesses, that never Professor had a more illustrious Auditory, so throng'd was his with Persons of the First Quality in *Italy*. This encourag'd him to commit some of his Observations to the Press. But as he was naturally ambitious, and that he affected to bottom his own Reputation by disclosing the Ignorance of others, he created so great a number his Enemies, that he would have

have found it a hard push to answer all the Writings drawn up against him, if he had not been reliev'd by a Fever, which cut him off very young. His Death inspir'd Pity into his very Adversaries, and *Politianus* caus'd stately Verses to be engrav'd upon his Tomb, which serve to evidence, That Envy among Wits does not extend beyond the Grave.

Antonius Campanus his Fortune was no less capricious than his *Genius*. An unknown Country-Girl was deliver'd of him under a Tree, where she bilkt him. He was found there by a Sexton Priest of the Church, who put the Bantling out to Nurse, through a pure Principle of Charity; for he had more the Form of an Ape, than of a Child. This Priest taught him to read, and put him afterwards into the Service of a young Gentleman going to Study at *Naples*. *Campanus* attended his Master to the College, and became a Man of such Learning, as at his return he stood for and obtain'd a Publick Professors Chair at *Perruza*. This Exercise brought him to the knowledge of Pope *Pius* the Second, who made him Bishop of *Ite-rano*, and *Paul* the Second since conferr'd on him other Benefices. But he could not avoid being disgrac'd under *Sixtus* the Fourth, because that Pope having vow'd the Ruine of the Race of *Medici*, for Reasons I have inserted

inserted in the Second Book, thought it needful before all things to rid *Campanus* out of the way, he having too strict an Engagement with this House. And indeed, he sent him into Exile, wherein he dy'd of the Falling Sicknes. He left several Works, the most considerable of which would be the Life of the famous Captain *Braccio*, had he not blended it with so many Fables, that the most knowing in the History of *Italy* in the Fifteenth Century, can in it hardly distinguish Truth from Fiction.

Cardinal *Bessarion* was a Man so accomplish'd, that the Sacred Purple has never clad his like. He merited the Cap in the Council of *Florence*, and wore it so worthily, that he set his Fortune above Envy. He was tall, and of Noble Deportment; his Manners were regulated according to all *Christian* Severity; his Conversation charming, and Knowledge Universal; his Palace the Sanctuary of the pinch'd, uneasie *Greek* and *Latin* Muses; and at his Table has been seen at once, several times, *George de Trebisondo*, *Gaza*, *Argiropilos*, *Pleton*, *Philelphus*, *Blondus*, *Aretine*, *Poggio*, *Valla*, *Sipontinus*, *Campanus*, *Platina*, and *Calderin*. The Popes *Eugenius* the Fourth, *Nicolas* the Fifth, and *Pius* the Second, declar'd on their Deathbeds to the Sacred College, That *Bessarion*

was

was the most Worthy of being their Successor; and it's well known, that he would have been Pope after *Paul* the Second, but for the Imprudence of *Nicolo Perroti*, the same I have already mention'd, who serv'd him for Conclavist. One Evening, that *Bessarion* was studying, as was his Custom, without troubling his Head with the Intrigues of his Colleagues, three Cardinals, the Heads of as many Cabals in the Conclave, having at length agreed for the Election of him, went to his Cell, and ask'd to speak with him. *Perroti* fancying all their Business was to hedge in the Suffrages of his Patron; and as he knew him well enough to be persuaded, that these Cardinals Sollicitations would (as to that) be ineffectual, he thought it his Duty not to interrupt *Bessarion's* Study. Wherefore he obstinately refus'd to introduce them, or to acquaint his Patron of their asking to come to his Speech. And what was most capricious in this Adventure, the more *Perroti* was entreated, press'd, conjur'd, threatn'd, the more stiff and refractory he was to keep the Door shut; all this so much the more confirming him in his Chimerical Presupposition, That they were so earnest for admittance, onely to mump the onely Voice they wanted for him among them they had agreed upon. The

Contest

Contest lasted so long, that the three Cardinals Patience being tir'd, they said to one another, *A fine Business truly would it be, to exalt a Man to the Holy See, who not onely would not con them any Thanks for his Election, but also make them depend on the Caprice of his Domesticks, when they should have occasion to Discourse him.* Then Spite and Indignation made them take other Measures; and as Cardinal *Riario* was the He most flatter'd their Imagination in that instant, they elected him Pope, tho' they had concerted before not to give their Voice to any Religious, and that *Riario* had been a *Cordelier*. The Pleasure they expected to reap from Cardinal *Bessarion's* Regret, for having mist the Papacy through his Conclavist's Fault, set them agog to let him know how the thing had pass'd: But this neither chang'd *Bessarion's* Countenance or Carriage to them, and he onely told *Perroti*, That he had hindered him from dubbing him Cardinal. The new Pope having a mind to reduce the Popedom into a Monarchy, could no longer endure sight of a Person he knew to have been so near the Place he held, and merit it much better than his Holiness. He contriv'd, for the getting him out of the way, an honourable Sham, which was, to send *Bessarion* in Quality of Legate into *France*, where he resided

sided a long while, and gave *Budæus* the first Tincture of the *Greek Tongue*; for that Kingdom had not a Man that understood it at that time. In his Return he dy'd in *Ravenna*, where the House of *Medici* caus'd a *Mausoleum* to be erected him.

George de Trebifonde was one of the Principal Men of Letters that came from *Greece* into *Italy*, after the Revolution of *Constantinople*. He translated the Works of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, part of those of *Aristotle*, and the Rhetorick of *Hermogenes*. He was indefatigable in Labour; but besides his having the Mien and Manners of a Pedant, he lost his Fame by the unjust War he made upon *Plato*: He had got a Fancy, that the onely way to exalt his own Repute above that of other Learned Men, consisted in defaming that Philosopher; and as he was extraordinarily virulent in all he went about, he wrote against him such invidious, Satyrical Libels, as render'd himself altogether ridiculous. He receiv'd likewise the displeasure of seeing, that among the Learned, all those making Profession of Virtue, defended the Doctrine of *Plato* with the same Zeal, as if it had been (as I may say) the Out-works of the *Christian Religion*. Cardinal *Bessarion* of his *Mecenas* became his Adversary, and answer'd him with so much Solidity and Eloquence,

quence, as stopp'd his Mouth. He did not desist, however, after this Quarrel, teaching at *Rome*, where he marry'd; but some years after he had a Fit of Sickness, which made him so universally forget what he had learn'd, that he retain'd not so much as his own Name. He did not recover, without becoming again an Infant; and dy'd, after having tir'd out his Children and Domesticks for above ten years together, with following him where ever the Fancy put him upon going, for fear of his insulting those he met; for notwithstanding all his Imbecility, he would never endure to be shut up Day or Night.

Theodore Gaza departed very young from the City of *Thessalonica*, the Place of his Nativity, and came into *Italy*, where he was immediately observ'd to have a Wit prodigiously quick and pregnant. He attain'd in a short space the Delicacy of the *Latin* Tongue, and became so nice, as gave occasion to doubt, if he understood it not better than the *Greek*, tho' it was not question'd but that he admirably well knew the Tongue of his own Country. And indeed, he was the onely Person, of whom People have not hitherto been able to judge which he translated best, *Greek* into *Latin*, or *Latin* into *Greek*; for, if we on one side examine the

Version

Version he made of the Problems of *Aristotle's* History of Animals, of that of Plants of *Theophrastus*, and of the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates*, we shall find, that he has not onely express'd the Thoughts and the Character of those Authors, but has likewise retain'd all their Graces, which seem'd as if they could in no wise be divorc'd from their Expressions: And if, on the other side, we consider the Air wherewith he makes *Cicero* speak *Greek*, it will be more difficult (without comparison) to comprehend the inimitable Turn he found the way to give to that Oratour Travesty'd, to make him retain all the Majesty of his Eloquence, without having enfeebld the Beauty of his Sentiments, or the Purity of his Style. Cardinal *Bessarion* had procur'd him a Benefice in the Realm of *Naples*, on which he might very conveniently have subsisted, if his natural averseness for all sorts of Menial Cares had not oblig'd him to refer them absolutely to his own Country People, who let him almost want all manner of Necessaries. They made him believe, the Lands had been ruin'd, sometimes by Storms, and sometimes by extraordinary Droughts. Honest *Gazalov*'d rather to believe their Lies, than take the pains to inquire into the Truth of their Asseverations. However, he did not leave
off

off working with as much Exactness and Perseverance, as if he had had all his Conveniencies. And when he had finish'd the Piece he design'd for Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, he transcrib'd it himself upon Parchment, (for he painted admirably well) and presented it to his Holiness. But the good Man had made his Address in the wrong place; for the Pope, who had liv'd Fifty years among the *Cordeliers*, had deprav'd his Taste, by studying the Formalities of *Scorus*. He receiv'd *Gaza's* Book with as lowring a Countenance, as if he had offer'd him a Song: He threw it into a Corner of the Room, and calling his Chamberlain, bid him give the Author so mean a Sum, that it was not sufficient to pay for the Velome on which the Work was written. *Gaza* being nettled with this Affront, the most sensible a Man of Letters can receive, could not forbear reciting aloud the *Greek* Proverb, which says, *That Asses have no taste, save for Coals*. But well was it for him, the Pope did not understand the Tongue; for he would not have allow'd him to have retir'd to his Benefice, where, out of vexation, he burnt what he had left of his Work. And it is to be presum'd, that the Pope did the like with the Manuscript presented him by *Gaza*; for we have not yet been able to know what it treated of.

Gaza liv'd

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Johannes Argiropolis having been invited from *Constantinople*, to instruct those of the House of *Medici*, was in effect *Piero's*, *Lorenzo's*, and *Giustano's* Tutor. *Gaza's* Friendship, which he took care to Cultivate, was an infinite help to his acquiring Reputation when he came to *Florence*, and still more since to preserve it; for, setting upon translating *Aristotle's* Books of Physick, *Gaza*, who had also translated them, and incomparably much better than *Argiropolis* could do, out of a dis-interestedness and modesty, un-exempl'd in the Republick of Letters, suppress'd his Work, in consideration of his Friends, he well foreseeing that as soon as his own Traduction shou'd come forth, it wou'd darken that of *Argiropolis*, who neither knew so much *Latin* as *Gaza*, nor had so neat, easie, and fluent a gift of Explanation, as to unravel *Aristotle*. *Argiropolis* took the advantage of *Gaza's* Generosity, without troubling his head about acknowledging it, and thus indulg'd, at anothers Cost, his two ruling inclinations, Ambition and Avarice; for he was rank'd among the Wits,

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liv'd some years longer, ever in indignation against the Muses, as if they should have been Warrantees of *Sixtus* his dogged humour and moroseness, and dy'd at above fourscore years of Age.

Johannes Argiropolis having been invited from *Constantinople*, to instruct those of the House of *Medici*, was in effect *Piero's*, *Lorenzo's*, and *Giuliano's* Tutor. *Gaza's* Friendship, which he took care to Cultivate, was an infinite help to his acquiring Reputation when he came to *Florence*, and still more since to preserve it; for, setting upon translating *Aristotle's* Books of Physick, *Gaza*, who had also translated them, and incomparably much better than *Argiropolis* could do, out of a dis-interestedness and modesty, un-exempl'd in the Republick of Letters, suppress'd his Work, in consideration of his Friends, he well foreseeing that as soon as his own Translation shou'd come forth, it wou'd darken that of *Argiropolis*, who neither knew so much *Latin* as *Gaza*, nor had so neat, easie, and fluent a gift of Explanation, as to unravel *Aristotle*. *Argiropolis* took the advantage of *Gaza's* Generosity, without troubling his head about acknowledging it, and thus indulg'd, at anothers Cost, his two ruling inclinations, Ambition and Avarice; for he was rank'd among the Wits,

and shar'd with them the Liberalities annually bestow'd on them by the Court of Naples, that of Rome, and *Lorenzo de Medici*: He likewise taught in the publick School of Florence with sufficient Applause, while he respected the Authors in the *Latin* Tongue. But when he chanc'd to bolt, *Cicero* did not well understand *Greek*, his Auditors eclips'd themselves insensibly, and the Pestilence, breaking out in *Tuscany*, in that juncture, gave him a pretence to depart Florence with Honour, and retire to Rome, where Cardinal *Bessarion* procur'd him considerable Pensions. There liv'd he according to his Genius, prone to good Cheer, and some excess in Dyet, with which it was never observ'd that he had lost his Reason, or that he blurted any thing unbecoming him. Nevertheless, his Stomach was not proof against Melons, for he died in his seventieth year, by having eat too much of that Fruit. They found among his Papers he had couzen'd some of his Moments, by making a Will, in which he bequeath'd to his Friends such considerable Legacies, as if he had possess'd all the Riches of the House of *Medici*; tho' universally known not to be worth a Penny; this Gallantry only serv'd to Convert the Epitaph that was preparing for him into an Epigram.

Marcilius

Martius Tarcaniote came from *Greece* into *Italy*, with a company of *Cuirasseers*, and mingled all his life long, the Pike with the Pen; the Profession of Arms, with that of Polite Letters. His fondness for the *Latin* Tongue, made him wed the Daughter of *Bartolomeo Scula*, who understood and spoke it to an admirable Perfection. She taught it him so accurately, that *Lorenzo de Medici* found him capable of translating *Platarch's* Moral Works, and conjur'd him to do it by Letters still extant. But he had so much a verseness for that sort of Labour, wherein a Man must (said he) render himself a Slave of anothers Sentiments, that it was impossible for him to finish the first Page. He lov'd much rather to compose Epigrams, whereof there is a Collection still remaining, wherein a body may see that it was solely his own fault, he did not do much more. He was drown'd in fording the River of *Volterra*, swell'd extraordinarily by the Rains, on the very day that the unfortunate *Lodovico Sforza* was confin'd to an Eternal Prison.

Demetrius Chalcondile had all the good Qualities of the *Greeks*, and none of the bad. He was Knowing and Laborious, never weary of Studying or Teaching, sincere, and never boasting. He came very aged to *Fla-*
rence, where he must needs be dabbling in

Matrimony. The little disposition he had to meddle in Domestick concerns, induc'd him to leave those Sollicitudes to his Wife; and this freedom, so extraordinary in *Tuscan*y, with that Ladies wonderful Fecondity, serv'd for matter to a world of Verses, disadvantageous to her Modesty. After *Argiropolis* had quit the *Greek Chair* of *Florence*, *Politian* obtain'd it; and as he was an incomparable Wit, using all the ways of making him successful in his Undertakings, he so well brandish'd his Talent, and so sily coax'd and flatter'd his Auditory, that he wrought an Exclusion to all the *Greeks*, who offer'd to dispute for it. *Chalcondile*, tho' very humble, and little minding his own Glory, cou'd not digest the affront that was done those of his Nation. He made his Addresses to *Lorenzo de Medici*, who had already pitch'd upon him to teach his Children the *Greek Tongue*, and obtained Permission to teach in Concurrence, and at the same time with *Politian*, to see which of the two wou'd have most Followers. But the harsh accent which *Chalcondile* cou'd never get rid of, and the difficulty he had to pronounce some *Latin* words, rendred him Contemptible, in comparison of *Politian*, whose agreeable tone of Voice, and gallant Expressions, ravish'd his whole Audience. *Lorenzo* contriving

triving by all means to keep *Chalcondile* at *Florence*, was forc'd to procure him Auditors, and endeavour'd to oblige *Politian* to live with him more civilly.

Lorenzo set about several times to reconcile them, but he found by his own experience, that it was more easie to procure Peace to *Italy*, than make it between two *Virtuoso's*. He hindred them however from letting their Resentment break out, during his Life-time, but incontinently after his Death, *Chalcondile* being without support, sided with *Lodovico Sforza*, who gave him the principal Chair at *Milan*, where he committed to the Press his Illustrations upon the *Greek Tongue*, that have rendred him so famous. There he dy'd, when near a hundred years old, and yet soon enough not to be informed of the shameful death of *Theophilus*, the Eldest of his Children, kill'd by Night in a bye street of *Pavia*, where he was Professor.

Marc-Musurus, a Native of *Candia*, where he had already signaliz'd his parts, by his Criticisme upon the *Greek Authors*, and by the rare felicity of his Genius, which almost equally accomplish'd all he undertook, when that the Republick of *Venice* made him remove from his Island to the *Terra-firma*, and gave him a Chair at *Padoua*. The number of his Auditors was there so great, that they

they were forced to enlarge the publick School, and permit *Musurus* to teach Grammar in the morning, and Poetry in the Afternoon, to gratifie those who had a mind to hear him untold those two liberal Arts. He continued to Profess, till the War deserted his Auditory, and compelled him himself to think of his Security. He withdrew to *Rome*, where he composed that wonderfull Poem in praise of *Plato*, which is found at the beginning of that Philosophers Works. Those who understood it, and saw him, could (at first) hardly believe *Musurus* to be the Author. They were rather inclin'd to suspect he had found it in an ancient Manuscript, and publisht it in his own Name. Their Diffidence was groundd upon its not being possible for a Man of their times to compose a piece wherein the Character, and Graces stroaks the *Greek Poetry* posses'd in *Alexander's* Age, were restor'd in the highest point of their Perfection. *Musurus* help'd on his side to confirm them in this thought, when judging of the Beauty of his Poem, by the Applauses it received from all Parties, he would compile nothing more of that Nature, for fear of diminishing by a feeble piece, or less finish'd, the high Reputation he had attain'd unexpectedly, and on a sudden. He contented himself with showing, by explaining

plaining to the Romans, the finest passages of Homer, of Hesiod, of Theocritus, and of Amacreon, that he was able to imitate their Quaintness, and Excellencies, since he knew so perfectly their Turn and Delicacy, and by leading so regular a Life, that People came insensibly to cease suspecting him of injustice. He was at this pass when Leo the 10th was Elected Pope, that is to say, when the Golden Age of Polite Letters began. Musurus received of his first Gratifications, and was endow'd with the Archbishoprick of Ragusa. But as Dignities expose more in view those by whom they are possess'd, and by consequence their Imperfections are the better noted; the Mitre only serv'd Musurus, to manifest the Vice he had so long held conceal'd; for as hitherto he had not been accounted Ambitious, and they made this judgment of him, that he had more Repute than he desir'd. But no sooner was he Archbishop, than that he fell a Caballing to be Cardinal. He laid aside his Books, to study intriguing, and had such an ability that way, that the Pope was amaz'd at this Change, twitted him with it, and some times railly'd him. Yet did he not forbear continuing, and took so many new measures with those he saw Favourites at Court, that they Cock-sur'd him of a Cap at the first Promotion. But

the Pope delighted in frustrating their purposes, for his greater Diversion at *Musurus* his future behaviour. And indeed, he did not neglect tricking up his House, augmenting his Train, nay, and preparing the acknowledgment he pretended to make. But the day of Promotion being come, *Musurus* not finding himself of the number of the one and thirty, added to the Sacred College, his Virtue prov'd too weak to digest the Affront he fancy'd he had receiv'd. He complained of it, as of a Contempt done to all the *Greek* Nation in his Person; and for the carrying his Resentment as far as it could go, of the Dropsy he fell sick, and died.

Johannes Lascaris was the most Illustrious of the *Grecians*, that came into *Italy*, after the taking of *Constantinople*; for besides that he reckon'd Emperours in the number of his Ancestors, was he in such repute for Knowledge and Probity, that the very Infidels had a veneration for his Merit. He took Sanctuary with *Lorenzo de Medici*, who received him with open Armes, and committed to him the care of his Library. As they were one day discoursing on the means for its embellishment, a thought came into *Lascaris* his head, that *Bajazet* the 2d, Emperour of the *Turks*, had an inclination for Philosophy, and that having caus'd *Averroes* his Commentaries

taries upon *Aristotle*, to be explained to him, he wou'd not be sorry that the Peripetetics were rescu'd from the downfall of Polite Letters. *Lorenzo* promis'd to furnish him with things necessary for a Voyage to *Constantinople*, if willing to go thither on this Design. *Lascaris* took him at his Word, and embark'd without any other Credential, than the Letter which *Lorenzo* gave him for his Factours. Nevertheless he fail'd not of getting access to the *Grand Seignior's* Port, and of being presented to his *Celsitude*, who receiv'd him much better than he expected. They had a pretty long Conversation, and *Bajazet* testify'd to him all the Esteem an Infidel was capable of, for the Virtue of *Lorenzo de Medici*, and allow'd him (in consideration of that Lord) to buy up all the Manuscripts met with to be sold in his Empire. His *Celsitude* gave him Men to Conduct and Guard him to and from such places, where he knew there had been Libraries, and to hinder those who had plunder'd them, from selling the Books for more than they were worth. Thus *Lascaris* had the conveniency of going throughout all *Greece*, and of collecting those rare Volumes, which still subsist in the *French King's* Library; yet he brought but half of 'em in the first Voyage he made, because the

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joy he had to show his Patron the Authors he had retriev'd, tho' held for lost, made him return to *Florence*, just two years after he departed thence. But *Lorenzo* sent him back three Months after, and desired him to continue his search through all places that had been the Residence of the Learned. *Lascares* saw *Bajazet* again, and receiv'd new Civilities from this Sultan. He travell'd o're all the *Peloponnesus*, and return'd as in Triumph, in a Ship freighted with the rest of the Spoils of the *Greek Tongue*. But he had not as yet rang'd his Manuscripts in the stately place appointed them, when *Lorenzo de Medici* dy'd, and left *Italy* in a calm of no long Duration. The *French Army* entred *Florence*, and dissipated the Books, as well as other the Moveables of the House of *Medici*. *Lascares* not knowing what to do, sided with *Charles the 8th*, and being a Man of the Cabinet, he had given him the Embassy of *Venice*, which he acquitted himself worthily of, under the Reign of that Monarch, and of his Successour, *Lewis the 12th*. At length, *Leo the 10th* being become Pope, call'd *Lascares* to *Rome*, to be of his Council. He liv'd there as a Man of Quality, and spent regularly for his Table and his Equipage, all the Salaries, and Ecclesiastical Pensions he receiv'd. He lov'd

good Cheer, and had so much aversion for what is call'd Perking up an Author, that they had all the trouble imaginable, to get him Conch in writing the Ancients way of Encamping, according to *Polybius* his Memoirs; and the little we have left of his curious Verses, was stoin from him by the Pope's order. He was very much troubled with the Gout in his old Age, and nevertheless attain'd to his Ninetieth year.

The City of *Groninghen*, so little known before it had brought *Rodolphus Agricola* into the World, began to be celebrated for his Birth. So great was his Wit, that he learnt at the first, and without pains, all he had a mind to study, and a memory so vast, that nothing escap'd him of what he had once retain'd. These two rare Talents, joyn'd to an indefatigable Temperament, supply'd abundantly the lowness of his Extraction, and his Domestick Poverty. He became Learned to a Prodigy, with borrow'd Books, and without a Master; and the very things he confusedly learnt, and according as they occur'd in Authors, that were lent him, were found dispos'd in a marvellous order and neatness, when he pronounc'd them. He began his Studies, where others were wont to finish them; that is to say, with the *Hebrew Tongue*. He wou'd know it not
only

only in its Purity, but likewise with all the Alterations produc'd by time, and the Refinements of the *Rabbis*. He was also careful to initiate himself into the *Greek* Tongue, the principal Authors of which he read with so much Accuracy, that his Co-Professours have since own'd, they could never know of which he was most Master. At last he fell to *Latine*, without having regard to the Remonstrances of those who dissuaded him from that Province, for that the habit of writing and pronouncing *Hebrew*, seem'd to have introduc'd in his Mind, an incompatibility with the *Roman Phrases* and Expressions. In *Latine* he made so surprizing a Progress, that the famous *Erasmus*, an Author so little accustomed to commend in another, the Riches he enjoy'd, cou'd not grow weary of admiring him, principally, after he had bestow'd on the Publick his Commentaries so polite, and so worthy of *Augustus* his Age, upon *Aristotle's* Rhetorick and Logick. He also made Verses, whose Character is so soft and melting, that they wou'd never have been taken to have been Writ in the bitter Climate of *Friezland*, where *Agricola* dwelt; and those of the *Triumph of Love over Reason*, made him known to the Elector *Palatine*. This Prince having got a Fancy, as well as *Lorenzo de Medici*, to form a Library out of the

the Ruins of those the *Turks* had ravag'd in *Bulgaria*, and other the Neighbouring Provinces, prevail'd with *Agricola* to repair to *Heidelberg*, the Capital City of his Dominions, gave him the first Chair for Eloquence in the University there Erected, and made him his Counsellour of State. But *Agricola* was not yet well install'd in his new Dignities, when a Maligne Feavour snatcht him away in the flower of his Age, and depriv'd *Germany* of the only Man, it could confront to so many *Greeks* and *Italians*, whose Eulogies I here make.

We must render this Testimony to the famous Genius of *Leo Battisti Alberti*, that never Man labour'd with more success than he, upon so tiresome and so difficult a matter. His Family, being of the most Illustrious of *Florence*, and ally'd to that of *Medici*, wrought the first tyè of Friendship he had with *Lorenzo*: he communicated to him the Design he had conceiv'd of studying the ancient Architecture, and received from him the Counsels and Assistance, that he needed in an Affair which requir'd much Recommendation. And indeed, *Lorenzo de Medici's* Letters gave him access at the Courts of all the Princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, where there were old Ruines of Buildings which seem'd to have been Magnificent.

Alberti

Alberti visited them at his ease ; he took all the measures of those decay'd Fabricks ; and at his return to *Florence*, comparing the divers Observations he had made with the Precepts of *Vitruvius*, he own'd, this Authors Obscurity to be one of the principal Causes, that had occasion'd Architecture to be neglected for so many Ages. On which account, he resolv'd to render that Author more Intelligible, and make him speak in his own Tongue. He atchiev'd these two things with so much Order and Clearness, that the Learned had reason to say, after having scann'd the Work he had undertaken, that those who should read it, would become as skillful and expert, as he himself. Then he bent his Studies to Opticks, as perceiving that the Painters of his time, did not succeed in making Pourtraicts in Miniature. He found out its Demonstrations and Rules, which he illustrated and render'd Publick, and spar'd neither Industry, Pains, or Expence to dress up Youth in practising them. From thence it came, that in his time there was at *Florence*, a greater number of excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, than had been known in *Greece*, even when she boasted of being the Mother and Nurse of the Liberal Arts. I shall not mention them in this place, since the Curious may find

find 'em in *Kasari*, who has writ three Volumes in their Commendation. I shall only say, that tho' *Alberti* had his Mind replete with Palaces, Decorations, and Statues, nevertheless he recreated himself some times with less serious Muses. And whosoever shall take the pains to examine the Fables he compos'd, in imitation of those of *Aesop*, will judge (if he is equitable) that *Alberti* falls little short of that Ancient. I have not so good an Opinion of the Dialogue he afterwards Publish'd under the Title of *Momme*, tho' it made at least as much noise, and its Ridery seems to me so feeble in several Passages, that a Man must have a great Disposition to Joy, to feel any in perusing it. Be it as it will, *Alberti* dyed pretty young in *Lorenzo's* Arms; and *Politian* commended him publickly, by the Recitation of a Piece, accounted the most finisht in all his Works.

Hermolaus Barbarus was the first who show'd by Experience, that the most solid Knowledge, and most exalted, had nothing common with Pedantry: For tho' all *Europe* was perswaded of his being the most Learned of all Men; yet, at *Venice*, his Birth-place, was he reckon'd for the only Person of all the Nobles, that made profession of the highest and most refined Gallantry. There needed

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no more than the hearing him discourse upon all sorts of matters, to be Convinc'd he was ignorant of nothing; yet never seen in Study. He was never told of any Book but what he had the Knowledge of, nor was there any seen in his Chamber, or his Closet. He had acquaintance with all the topping Wits of his time, but would enter into no strict Tye and Commerce with any save *Lorenzo de Medici, Politian, and Pius della Mirandola.* At their request he took upon him the greatest labour, at that time in the Republick of Letters, by Correcting all the Manuscripts of *Pliny's Natural History*, for an acceptable Present to the Publick. As there had been no ancient Works preserv'd, more useful than this, so had there none been preserv'd more defective; and of thirty six Books, whereof it was compos'd, three or four only were Intelligible; nay, and only those, which spoke of Men and Animals: As for those which treat of Stones, of Herbs, of Gums, and Minerals, the ignorant Copiers had transcribed them with so much negligence, that there was at least a word in each Line, capable of stumbling and puzzling the best and ablest Scholars. The trouble was infinite, and those who had read in young *Pliny's Epistles* with what both facility and exactness, the

Natural

Natural History was compil'd, did averr it requir'd twice as much pains to restore it; nay, and after that too, they despair'd of Success. However *Hermolaus* effected it in a few years. In his Corrections he only made use of the Authority of Manuscripts all along, where good Sense cou'd subsist with retaining them; and when those Manuscripts were not sufficient, he had recourse to the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, who had writ upon the same matters, and restor'd his *Pliny* upon their Credit. Lastly, in such places where those two Succours fail'd him, he put in use his own Conjectures, with so much probability and happiness, that not one of them was gain-say'd. By this ingenuous way did he discover, that the same *Pliny* was born at *Cosme*, and that he compos'd a Dissertation on it, which Convinc'd all those who read it. The Applauses *Hermolaus* receiv'd on this occasion, made him not have the better opinion of his sufficiency; and they only animated him to continue to serve the Publick. He daily saw that the Medicinal Art was ill practis'd, because two or three Men only in *Italy* were passibly instructed in the nature of Medicaments, and the admirable desire he had to remedy the defect, made him undertake to do with *Dioscorides*, the same thing he had achiev'd upon *Pliny*. And as his

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Talent

Talent was as large at surbishing up the *Greek*, as *Latin* Authors, he had also the same success. Now after this, there seem'd nothing more left for him to do, than enjoy, bask, and acquiesce in the honour he had acquir'd. And his Friends invited him so to do, when he urg'd to them on his own accord, that it was no longer just, that *Italy* shou'd be intirely indebted to the *Greeks*, expell'd by the *Turks*, for the most solid Philosophy, by their Traductions of *Plato* and *Aristotle*: He added, that whatever pains had been taken, to render those two Authors intelligible, principally the last, yet he was so little to be understood, that the Books of *Rhetorick*, *Logick*, and *Physick* were not of any use. That *Themistius* was the Man, of the Ancients, that had interpreted them with most Judgment and Neatness, but had not been better treated, than *Pliny* by the Copiers: that it was needful to set about purging him of their faults, and make him speak *Latin*, so to thrift under his Guidance into all the Secrets of the *Licæum*, and then take a more honourable Repose, by placing himself at the end of the Carriere, after having open'd to others, those of Nature in *Pliny*, of Simples in *Dioscorides*, and of Ratiocination, in *Themistius*. *Hermolaus* accomplish'd it, according as he had propos'd it,

it, and *Themistius* appear'd with so much Pleasingness and Majesty, that none have since dar'd to retouch the Work. The Translators Reputation became then so great at the Court of *Rome*, his abode at that time, that Pope *Innocent* the 8th, being one day inform'd, that the Patriarchship of *Aquileia* was fall'n vacant, he conferr'd it on him with full Right. It is to be presum'd, his Holiness had then no other Intentions, than to reward the extraordinary Merit of *Hermolaus*. But the Senate of *Venice* was too much upon its Guard, against the Innovations of the Court of *Rome*, to want taking notice, that the Pope had made an Encroachment, by Conferring the Patriarchship of *Aquileia*: For tho' the Sovereign Pontiffs pretended, that they might place in that Station whom they pleas'd; yet they never did so with that Sovereign Authority, and were wont to give Bulls only to the Person nominated to them by the Ambassadour of the Republick. Nevertheless, *Innocent* the 8th had dispensed himself from keeping this Formality, in the affair in hand, and gave but too much room for suspicion to People, naturally distrustful, that he had nick'd his time to create Patriarch of *Aquileia*, a Patriarch and a Personage so famous, that they wou'd be far from opposing his Installation, for the

placing there afterwards Parties, as wou'd not be of the same Consideration. From hence it came to pass, that tho' *Hermolaus* was one of the most Illustrious Gentlemen of *Venice*, and possess'd besides all the other Qualities, that in another Conjunction wou'd have preferr'd him to the Patriarchship; yet the Senate acted with as much Rigour and Obstinacy, to hinder his attaining it, as if they had judg'd him absolutely unworthy of it. On the other side, the Pope was resolv'd to maintain what he had done, and to carry things to extremity, rather than endure that *Hermolaus* shou'd not enjoy the Grace he had done him. But this wonderful Genius did his Common-wealth Justice, in opposition to his own Interests, and own'd she had reason to be against him. He conjur'd the Pope to confer the Benefice on the Party that shou'd be presented to him by the Ambassadour of *Venice*, and formally declar'd, that he wou'd accept none, if he must incur (at this rate) the Envy of his fellow Citizens. The Pope was so affected with his moderation, that he promis'd to make him Cardinal at the first Promotion. But in a few days after *Hermolaus* fell sick of a Pestilential Fever; the only remedy to Cure him, was giving him *Bezoar*, neither mixt, nor sophisticated. There was
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some at *Florence*, in an *Agate Vessel*, which *Suldan Cayte-bay* had made a Present of to *Lorenzo de Medici*, Politian, and *Picodella Mirandola*, sent it Post, but the Courier found *Hermolaus* just expir'd.

Giorgio Merula, who surviv'd *Hermolaus*, but four days, had not a Wit so well turn'd as his, tho' little less Vigorous. He was a *Lombard* by Inclination, as well as by Birth, and those who knew him intimately, observed in him all the Vices, and all the Virtues attributed to that Nation. He was Maligne, unapt to Learn, Revengeful, Pittiless; and if he did no mischief, save by Writing, it was, because that the lowness of his Fortune, and the Employment he follow'd, did not allow him to do it in any other manner. He held it for an Honour to pass for a Pedant; he affected all the Grimaces of Pedantry, for fear he should be disputed that Quality. All his Life long did he perform the Publick Functions of a Pedant at *Venice* and *Milan*. As his main strength consisted in Criticisme, he retrench'd his Wit to that, with it to gore and persecute all the Learned Persons of his Age. He was ever at War with one or other, and so implacable, that he wou'd never be reconcil'd with any Body. He had also this property of the Mad-dog, which he had taken for his Devise, that his bite was incurable:

ble: *Calderin* was the first, whose Reputation he took a pleasure in ruining, not that he desir'd to gain by it, but only, because it seem'd too well settl'd to his Fancy. Then fell he to making an *Index* of the Errors he had found in *Galcote*, and us'd him so severely, that he took pet, and dy'd. These two advantages, gain'd in the Grammar Combat, pult up his Heart. He took up all the able men in *Europe*, and publish'd against them his Corrections, which were read with so much the more avidity, that of so many Persons, whose Ignorance was mark'd, there was not one durst set Pen to Paper in his own Vindication, out of fear of being crusht with a Reply. *Merula* did not so much as spare *Politian*, tho' *Politian* had acquir'd Fame sufficient, as not to have his match. He shew'd him, that tho' Nature had given him all the qualities requisite to become Learned, she had not however been able to render him so. He not'd to him above thirty egregious faults, that had started from him, and hinted to him charitably (said he) that out of a desire to pass for the first, in the Republick of Letters, he must have read more, and study'd more than all the rest together. *Ludovico Sforza* being amaz'd at his having so formidable a Subject in his Colledge of *Milan*, made a scruple of employing

ploying him any longer in Correcting of Children, and drew him out of the Dust, to cause him to compile the History of *Milan*. But it was only to leave to Posterity a memorable Example, that the being very Learned, and perceiving the least Faults and Blunders of others, was not sufficient to make a good Historian: For tho' *Merula* has wrote with so much exactness and precaution, the Work prescrib'd him, that the greatest Critick cou'd not find any thing in it to carp at; yet true it is, that his Book is so dry and barren, that those to whom the Authors Fame had given an itching to read it, seldom but grutch'd the time they had spent in that amuzement. This did not hinder him from being magnificently rewarded; but as he was near ninety years of Age, when he had finish'd it, none but his Heirs gain'd by the benefit that accru'd from his Performance. *Politian* was the Man that got most by his Death. He had publish'd the first Century of his Miscellanies; and *Merula* being scandaliz'd at the audaciousness, which seem'd to be in the word *Century*, had threatn'd *Politian* to detach against him whole Regiments of Authorities and Passages, to justifie the contrary of all he asserted, but had only the leisure to rough-draw the Project.

Never Man came to be so admir'd for his

Wit, in so green a Youth, as *Angelus Politianus*; and never Man knew better how to preserve, by just and unjust ways, the Reputation he had acquir'd. He was born at *Florence*, and his Relations liv'd in such woful Poverty, as constrain'd him to be of *Giuliano's*, and *Lorenzo de Medici's* Retinue, when they went to the Colledge, and to wear their Liveries, that he might have the conveniency of being there. He had an ugly Face, a huge big and long Nose, his left Eye squinted; but he had a pliant and flexible Wit, and was finely and craftily Ambitious. He never us'd so much Artifice to disguise himself, save only with those he had most Communication: He never heard any thing with so much Indignation, as the Praises of others: he was equally envious of his Friends and of his Enemies. No other Pen compos'd any thing to his liking; he lov'd not to receive Correction, tho' he did it importunately to all sorts of Persons. It was sometimes seen that he acknowledged his Faults, and that it was meerly out of Malice, he resisted Truth. Yet he never own'd to have blunder'd. As to his way of living, it was so corrupted, that Modesty hinders me from speaking of it. What I mean, will be but too well divined by the Knowledge of his Death,
which

which I cannot steal from my Reader, because it was too publick. Yet after all this, he had so marvellous a Genius, that the World has not seen the like since *Ovid*. At twelve years old he compil'd such stately Verses, that a body wou'd have said they were of *Alexander's* Age, or of that of *Augustus*. And when the fancy took him to surprize the Learned, and make his own Productions pass for Fragments of *Anacreon*, or of *Catullus*, which he had just found by chance, in some old Manuscripts of the *Medici's* Library, those who best understood these matters, were impos'd on in their belief. His first famous piece was for *Giuliano de Medici*. This young Lord had won the prize of a Turnament, and lay questing after a Panegyrick, not inferiour to *Luca Pulfi's*, who had signaliz'd himself in the like occasion, to the advantage of *Lorenzo Politian* undertook the Province, and having perceiv'd that *Pulfi's* Poem was not all along of the same Force, through the Authors having only couch'd in it things purely of his own Invention; he fancy'd he needed only (to avoid this inequality) take a quite opposite Method. He Book-padded the ancient Panegyricks of the noblest thoughts that suited with his Subject. He travesty'd them after his own manner, and enchas'ing them with
such

such Passages of Poetry, where he was not satisfy'd with his own Product; he made so fine a piece, that *Pulsi*, after having read it, wou'd have suppress'd his own, out of shame and vexation. The same *Giuliano* having been kill'd in the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy, *Politian* lying perdue for an extraordinary occasion, to shew he writ as well in Prose as in Verse, drew up so Pathetick a Description of this Conspiracy, that the Learned, who assembled in the Library *de Medici*, avow'd that *Cicero* cou'd have done nothing better. After these two Essays, the high opinion *Politianus* had of his Abilities, made him fall to intriguing for the Profession of the *Latin* and *Greek* Eloquence. At the same time he became the Concurrent of *Demetrius Calchondile*, and top'd him, by having a more pleasing Accent, and by strewing his Discourse with Points, and bloomy, flourishing Expressions, so to recreate his Auditory. Above five hundred young Gentlemen, of all Countries in *Europe*, went to fetch him every morning in his own House, to accompany him, out of Honour, to the very Hall where he taught, and re-conducted him in like manner, when he descended the Chair. These Deferences gave him so whimsical an Opinion of his parts, that he fancy'd, to keep up so great a Reputation, he must set about

more

more solid Works, than Verses, or Relations, or at least amuse the World with the expectation of some great Labour, and yet do nothing all the while. For this reason did he spend five whole years, without giving the Publick ought else than Lessons. But at length the itch of Writing prevailing over his first design, he caus'd a Traduction of *Herodian* to be Printed, which had not all the effect he pretended: For tho' it was generally admir'd, a rumour was buz'd about, that *Politian* had found it among the Papers of the famous *Gregorio de Citta di Castello*, which he had bought; and this report was grounded on such Conjectures, as were but faintly destroy'd. Pope *Leo*, who was then under *Politian*, and heard all that was said *Pro* and *Con* at his Fathers Table, being desir'd twenty years after, by the *Academicks* of *Rome*, to tell them his Sentiments in the Case, left the thing in suspence, and undecided, and agreed, that the stile of that Translation, had nothing like to that of *Politian's* other works, and held more of the Paint, and Artifice, and Luxuriancy, which *Gregorio de Citta di Castello* was wont to use in his Compositions: He added however (as if he had been afraid of having said too much) that this *Gregorio* had done nothing comparable to this Version of *Herodian*. Be it as it will,
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the work is so finish'd and compleat, tho' in some places it's too spruce, and over abounds with finical trappings, that none have yet dar'd to decide which is the best translated, *Polybius*, or *Herodian*. *Politian*, a Man extraordinary nice, in matters of Honour, spar'd nothing of what might hinder him from passing for a Plagiary. He publish'd his Miscellanies and his Poetries: and as he was happy and persuasive, he wou'd, perchance, have effected it, but for Death, which lop'd him off at forty two years of Age. The Criminal passion he had for one of his Scholars of high Quality, not being to be satisfy'd, it cast him into a burning Fever. In the violence of the fit, he made a Song for the Object wherewith he was Charm'd, got out of Bed, took a Lute, with so tender and piteous an Air, that he expir'd in finishing the second Couplet, the same day that *Charles* the 8th past the *Alps* in his way to the Conquest of *Naples*.

I cannot better finish this Book, than by the Eulogy of *Giovanni Pico* Sovereign Prince *della Mirandola*, and of *Concord*. This Prince, surnam'd the *Phœnix of the Wits*, with so much justice, that none have grutcht him that Title, was born in his own state, and the eldest of a Family that boasted being descended from *Constantine* the Great.

The

The Prodigies which appear'd in Heaven, and upon the Earth, at the moment of his Nativity, testify there never had been, and perhaps wou'd never be such another Genius. He study'd not any thing, how difficult soever, but conceiv'd it at first. He found not any Author obscure enough, to put him to one moments plunge. He penetrated by his own lights, into *Euclid*, and the *Algebra*; he found the secret to reconcile *Aristotle* with *Plato*, and *Scotus* with Saint *Thomas*. At ten years old, he study'd the Law at *Bologne*, and Commented gradually as he study'd. At eighteen years of Age he knew two and twenty Tongues. And at three and twenty, he sent over all the World, his so celebrated *Theses*, by which he undertook to establish such certain Principles, and discuss the principal difficulties of all Sciences in general, and of each in particular, without using other terms, than those that were proper to it. He challeng'd to answer in the same Tongue he shou'd be question'd; he invited the Poor to the Disputation, as well as the Rich, and offer'd to pay the Charges of their Journey. He chose the City of *Rome* for the publick Conveniency; and the *Theses* were maintain'd there, with such a Concourse of Learned men, as had never been so great in any place. The Respondent was the

the beautifullest Man of his Age, and such an one, as was capable of gratifying the Eyes and Ears at the same time. He had a noble lofty mien, tall, and of a transcendent shape, and such as is attributed to Heroes, and his Body as well fashion'd as his Wit. He had also this peculiar to himself, that his Application to the most towering abstruse Sciences, made him neglect nothing of a gallant Garb, and well-dressing, that conducted to heighten Lustre, and captivate Affections. He had the knack of explaining his conceptions so easily, and with so good a Grace, that People were never weary of hearing him. He neither confounded the Words nor Phrases of so many Tongues, wherewith his memory was freighted. The tone of his Voice was agreeable. He sweetn'd the most serious Discourses, with fine and innocent Railleries, that they might go down the more glib. He became the more Eloquent gradually as he grew warm, and his Answers were so pat and solid, that it could never be observ'd, whether he had more Wit, or Judgment, or Memory, so many amazing Testimonies did he give, of his possessing those three Qualities, in a degree superiour to other Men. However, as he admitted all sorts of Persons indifferently to Disputation, and had inserted in his Posi-

ons, the *Cabala* of the *Jews*, the Defence of the most exalted Christian Mysteries, by Natural Reason, and the nicest Passages of the Councils, Fathers, and Ecclesiastical History; some there were, who unable to attain to the sublimity of his Notions, tax'd him with Heresie, and made such a Noise and Clamour, that the Pope was upon the point of suspending the Disputes; which, being intimated to the Prince of *Mirandola*, he besought his Holiness to give him the leisure to purge himself of the Crimes imputed to him, and principally of that which most shock'd the Demi-Learned, namely, of maintaining that *Origen* was sav'd, notwithstanding his Definition, contrary to the Fifth General Council; and tho' busy'd all day long in answering, yet he compil'd in seventeen Nights that wonderful Apology, which cannot be read, without a Mans being startl'd, to see so young a Prince equally strong upon all sorts of matters. He triumph'd o're all those, who wou'd have put his Religion to the arbitrement of each private Noddle, and compos'd his own Epitaph, which is only to take it aright, a Commentary upon the first Chapter of *Genesis*, wherein the Creation of the World is explain'd after so ravishing a manner, that there is no penetrating farther into the meaning of the Holy Writ.

After-

Afterwards his strict engagement with *Lorenzo de Medici*, render'd them Companions in Study; they daily communicated to one another, things they had learnt or meditated anew; they sent one another their Works, they corrected one anothers Compositions, and from one of their Conversations have I discover'd, how *Lorenzo* writ a Dialogue of *Love and Fortune*, so tender and ingenious, that the Prince of *Mirandola* (after having examin'd it) let him know, when he return'd it him, that he had not observ'd the proportion of Ages with sufficient exactness, and how *Venus* had not so many Charms; when she issu'd from the Froth of the Sea, as he gave his *Cupid*, though he only represented him as a Child newly born. This stroak will suffice to judge, how quaint and delicate was those two great Mens Criticisms. I have not been able to find out the true Cause, that set the Prince of *Mirandola* to write against Astrologers; nor am I satisfy'd with that alledg'd by his Nephew. I lay a much greater stress upon a Conjecture, which came into my mind, upon reading his Apology, that it might be the Professors of the Judicial, very rife at that time, having made their advantage of some Propositions in his *Theses*, seemingly in their favour,

favour, he thought himself oblig'd to prevent, by a publick disclaiming of those Tempents, the benefits they might thence derive. Be it as it will, the Allarm this gave them, was so hot, that they assembled to resolve what course they had best to take. They calculated the Prince of *Mirandola's* Nativity, and found two remarkable things. The one, that he shou'd not put the last hand to his work against them; and the other, that he shou'd not exceed thirty two years of Age. They sent to signifie this doom to him, at which he made a mock. But the event justify'd their Prediction: for as this Prince was compleating to undermine the Foundations of their Science, he was seiz'd with a Fever, which knock'd him off in thirty days space. It has been observ'd, that he breath'd his last in the very moment that *Charles the 8th.* entered *Florence*; and that the Library *de Medici* was dissipated, as if hazzard had taken him out of the World, in a Con-juncture, when he was going to be be-reav'd of the Originals of the Ancients, without which he could not live. He had been so concern'd at *Savonarola's* Predictions, that he was upon the point of renoun-cing the World, and going (after the Apo-stolick manner) to preach the Gospel through

The Secret History of
the Villages. However, his Work against
the Astrologers, (as imperfect as it is) is ne-
vertheless the best that has been composed,
since those of the Fathers of the Church.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

The Fifth Book.

ALL the *Italian* Historians of the last Century suppose, that *Piero de Medici's* imprudence undermin'd all the Foundations laid by his Predecessors, for the aggrandizement of his Family. But none have yet precisely shown, wherein that Imprudence consisted, nor its

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Result

Results and Consequences. I undertake the representing them here in order; and for my being the better understood, I begin with the Pourtraict of him, whose Errors I mean to describe.

Never did Son resemble less his Father, than *Piero de Medici*, and never Father had so much Antipathy for a Child, as *Lorenzo* had for *Piero*. It seem'd as if Nature had only form'd the one for the other, to set her self at odds, by a division of her Provinces, and to invest two contrary Objects with all her Virtues and Vices, without giving any thing to the Son, of what she had put into the Father. *Piero de Medici* possessed all the qualities wanting in *Lorenzo*, but had not so much as one of those in him admir'd. His Body was incomparably well made, and especially the finest Head that had been ever seen. He was of so strong and sound a Complexion, that not any excess was capable of staggering it. So much strength had he at seventeen years of Age, that not a Man was there, but whom he flung in wrastling. He was extraordinarily expert and clever in all Exercises, serving to fashion young Gentlemen. His meen was altogether Martial, when he appear'd arm'd at all points; and the Judges of the Turnaments own'd, no Man knew how to break a Lance with a better Grace than *Piero*.

His

His Wit was vast and piercing, but so ill turn'd, he cou'd not use it to advantage. Nor capable was he of Friendship, nor of Secresie; had no application but to Pleasures, and only of good humour in Hunting and with Ladies. The time spent in concernments of the Republick, he reputed as lost, and went not to the Council, save when he had no shift left to dispense him from going. He neglected the Complaints made him against the Subalternate Magistrates, and thought it below him to have an Eye to their Deportments. The Friends of his House could not get admittance to his Speech, till after having a long while danc'd attendance in his Antichamber, that their Zeal had had the leisure to chill, and other Citizens of *Florence* cou'd have no access to his Person. It spighted him infinitely, when People discours'd him upon the Modesty of his Ancestors. He ridicul'd their Oeconomy, principally in what regarded the Table. Insupportable was his Pride in a Town, where all the Gentlemen thought themselves one anothers equals. And his Luxury came to seem the more exorbitant, when compar'd with his Fathers and Great Grand-fathers Thrift, and good Husbandry. His Anger no less sudden, nor less dangerous, than that of *Alexander*; for instance, poor *Leoni*, whom, at *Careggio*, he threw into

the Well; but with more ease appear'd since there needed no more for the putting him into a good humour, than a Song or Lay of Musick, or the Sound of some pleasant Instrument. His Tutor, *Politian*, had observ'd him never to be troubled with Splenatick Humours, as long as he heard good Verses recited in his Native Tongue, and to derive advantage from this observation, a sort of Diurnal Academy was held at his House, where the Poets came daily to rehearse their Works in the *Tuscan* Dialect, and there receiv'd the approbation or censure they deserved.

With this so whimsical temperament *Piero de Medici* found himself encharg'd with the principal Direction of the *Florentine* Affairs, and remain'd not long in that Capacity, which serv'd for as many steps to help him to descend into the Precipice.

The first is, he had got a fancy of making Love to all the fair Women of Quality, and was so little discreet and moderate in the assiduous visits he paid their Ladiships, that their Husbands, and his Friends were almost equally scandaliz'd.

The second, His Mother, of the Lineage of the *Orsini's*, thinking it convenient to marry him, so with Matrimony to extinguish his fickle Flames, she propos'd to him a beau-

teous

teous and rich Heirefs of the stock of *Orfinis* call'd *Alfonfina*, whom he wedded; but had as much disgust for her, in a few weeks after his Marriage, as he had shown fondness for the Match. The first time he saw her, he us'd her so scurvily, that he was hated for it by all his own People, who could not (without resentment) see him renew his Libertine way of Living, from which they had pretended to tye him by this Wedlock.

The third Fault was, That for some Discourses of a double meaning, which scap'd from two of his Cousins, call'd *Lorenzo*, and *Giovanni de Medici*, whom it behov'd him so much the more to have consider'd, in that they descended from Male to Male, from a Brother of *Cosmo* the Old; he caus'd them to be chastis'd with a perpetual Banishment, however great his Interest was in their Preservation, and whatever Remonstrances his Friends had made him upon so nice a Subject. From whence it came, that these young Gentlemen being retir'd into *France*, were kindly welcom'd at the Court of *Charles* the 8th, where they so strongly prepossess'd *Cardinal Brissonet*, and other the Ministers, to *Piero de Medici's* disadvantage, that when he went to this Prince, the Persons nominated to negotiate with him, did in no wise credit his Proposals and Asseverations, nor

wou'd they trust him, but under good Cautions, which occasion'd his Disgrace.

The fourth Fault was, that *Piero de Medici* had so good an Opinion of his Wit, as to fancy, he might cully *Lodovico Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, who cully'd all Mankind. *Sforza*, after having seiz'd the State and Person of the young Duke, under colour of Tuition, thought an high Alliance needful to maintain him in his Usurpation. The Princess *Isabella* of *Naples*, seem'd to him fittest for his design, not only on the score of all the House of *Arragon's* support, at that time strictly combin'd, but because this Princess had the blaze of the most accomplish'd Beauty in all *Europe*. But an Obstacle there was to surmount, which seem'd invincible; for that young Princess had been solemnly promis'd to the young Duke of *Milan*, *Lodovico Sforza's* Nephew, from whence he had in view, that besides the Breach of word, to which the House of *Naples* wou'd hardly be induc'd, it must likewise be brought to Consent, that the Princess shou'd marry a Subject, after having been promis'd to a Sovereign, to which, it was well known, the high Spirit of that House wou'd in no wise suffer it to hearken.

Not but that *Lodovico Sforza* did himself sufficiently manifest in his Discourse, that he

he meant suddenly to be Duke, and already projected in his mind, the poysoning of his Nephew, which he since committed, when the Armies of *France* had assur'd him of Impunity. But in short, the thing was not yet effected, either that the occasion serv'd not yet, or that he had still left in his Heart some natural tenderness to surmount. Moreover, were the Crime committed, such a Course was so strange and novel among *Christians*, that the King of *Naples*, already much hated, wou'd not have dar'd to give his Daughter to a Man suspected of such an Action; and *Lodovico Sforza* well perceiving that he wou'd stand aloof from the same Alliance he must Court by this step, so of necessity to be made for its attainment.

However, as Ambition finds nothing impossible, when tun'd to the key of Love; *Sforza* sent his Confident *Galeazzo da san Severino* to *Naples* to negotiate under-hand, that the Princess might be granted him, under the Cant of the Duke his Nephew's being so ill, that he cou'd live but little longer.

The King of *Naples* had an extream repugnance to this Alliance, and yet wou'd have been brought to a Compliance, as labouring under a great dread of *Sforza's* Artifices, if it had not been oppos'd by the Duke of *Calabria*,

byia, his Eldest Son, a man of less Experience, and more Courage than Old *Ferrando*. It has been believ'd, that this was upon the Princess *Isabella's* Solicitation, who, according to her Device, was no less Lofty than Beautiful. They add, that her Brother and She, treated as Ridiculous *Galeazzo da san Severino's* Overture, and in that Envoy's presence made a mock of some Infirmities to which *Sforza* was bruited to be subject.

Galeazzo da san Severino informed *Sforza* of these Transactions, who took strange measures to wreak his Revenge on the House of *Arragon*. He caus'd his Nephew to drink a Potion, which bereft him of Judgment, and then suffer'd his Match to be Consummated with the Princess of *Naples*, for the giving her the vexation of having marry'd a Fool, and perhaps likewise for having her in his Power when become a Widdow. He was contriving the means to exclude the Duke of *Calabria's* Succession to the Crown of *Naples*, and found not out any other way, than to make him the Conquest of *Charles the 8th*. He sent to solicit this Prince to come into *Italy*, and to pursue with his Arms, his Ancestors Pretentions upon the two *Sicilies*.

France made some difficulty at first to engage, as not having Friends enow in *Italy*, and *Sforza*, after having taken upon him

to Conduct in all safety its Armies, as far as the Territory of *Florence*, made the Council of *France* hope he wou'd attract *Piero de Medici* into the most Christian King's Interests. This was no easie matter to effect, seeing the *Florentines* had, a little time afore, sign'd a League with the Pope, and the House of *Arragon*. But the same *Galeazza da san Severino*, of whom I have already spoken, had orders to endeavour to break it. He accosted *Piero de Medici*, who cou'd not fail of repartying; that when the *French King* was Master of *Naples*, it wou'd be easie for him to subdue the rest of *Italy*. *Galeazzo*, whom *Sforza* had commanded to break his mind to *Piero de Medici*, took him aside, and disclos'd to him in Confidence, and under the Rose, that his Masters Design was indeed, that the *French* shou'd come into *Italy*, but not there to stay; that he knew how to send them packing beyond the *Alpes*, after having made them his Implements to humble the Duke of *Calabria*. *Piero de Medici*, not being capable of keeping so great a Secret, reveal'd it to so many Persons, that it came to *Charles the 8th* his Ears, and he made heavy Complaints to *Sforza*, who found no other way to purge himself, but by consenting, that the *French* shou'd put Garrisons into all the Important places in their Passage. But

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in recompence, he conceiv'd an irreconcilable hatred to *Piero de Medici*.

In the mean while the *French* advanc'd, and as soon as they approached *Tuscany*, they summon'd the *Florentines* to come to a Declaration. *Piero de Medici* committed then a Fifth Fault, which I only glance upon, it being already registred in History. He went and put himself into their hands, and got no thence, till after having deliver'd up the Fortrefs of *Pisa*, *Leghorn*, *Seruzana*, and *Pietro Sculta*. This fir'd the *Florentines* with so much Indignation, that one of them, *Verli* by name, shut the Door upon his Nose, when he came to take his Seat in the Council. This Exclusion persuaded him he was utterly lost. Home went he, took Horse, and without being follow'd by more than two of his Domesticks, who cou'd not endure to see him go away alone, he departed *Florence*, and scour'd away to *Bologna*. So sudden and so shameful a retreat, quite discredited him with his Friends as well as Enemies. Both Fancy'd he must needs be more culpable than they had imagin'd, and so have decreed the utmost Punishments, since he fled away in a time when his Country needed most his Presence. Upon this Prejudice they pass'd through all the Proceedings against him, that are wont to be exerted against

gainst

gainst Criminals; Arraign'd he was of Con-
tumacy, pursu'd, his Estate seiz'd, set to sail
by Publick Out-cry; they sold at a low
Price, that prodigious mass of Moveables,
Pictures, Anticks, and Manuscripts Collec-
ted in the space of sev'nty years, with so
much Pains and Curiosity. And by a Ca-
pricious effect, the Grandeur of the House of
Medici, never glitter'd more, than during
the two or three Weeks it was giv'n up to
Pillage.

Said I have, that *Piero de Medici* had two
Brothers, *Giuliano*, and *Giovanni* the Cardi-
nal. *Giuliano* was in the House, when the
eldest departed thence, and accompany'd
him; but the Cardinal being out upon a Vi-
sit, found more difficulty to make his escape.
At first he thought to take refuge in the Con-
vent of St. *Marco*, built and founded by his
Ancestors, and lurk there till the storm was
over; but the Religious more timorous than
grateful, declin'd, with Excuses, giving him
a retreat. Then he had recourse to the *Cor-
deliers*, who made him lay aside the Purple,
and clad him with one of their Habits, by
favour of which, he pass'd, without being
known, through the Gate of St. *Gal*, and
went to join his Brothers. The House of
Medici seem'd now so humbl'd, by so terrible
a Squelch, that it cou'd not of a long time be
possible

possible for it to get up again. However, it was upon the point of being re-establish'd, in a few days after this Disaster, if *Piero de Medici* had not himself thwarted his own happiness, by a Caprice, which pawl'd Fortune in such manner, that she utterly turn'd tale, and never more wou'd she stir in his behalf.

Charles the 8th being inform'd of the Disorder which happen'd in *Florence*, drew near it, and made his entrance into that Town, in the posture of a Conquerour. *Alfonfina degli Orfini* laid her self at the Kings Feet, holding in her Arms a Son of hers but lately born. Her Tears melted the Hearts of all present, and made her find Friends in a Court where she was utterly unacquainted. Two persons were there of the King's Attendants, who shared the Favour, the one in quality of Principal Minister, the other, as Favourite. Cardinal *Briffonet* had the Province of Affairs, and possess'd his Masters good Opinion, without seeking any other support than his own Merit. And the Count *de Bresse*, the Duke of *Savoyes* Brother, having more affinity with the Age and Temperament of *Charles*, was one in all his Pleasures, and lay at watch for a Conjuncture proper to supplant the Cardinal. He knew this Old Minister had declar'd an averseness to *Piero*

de Medici, and was prejudic'd with the opinion, that the King's Authority could not subsist at *Florence*, save during an equality among the Citizens; that must be extinct when the House of *Medici* shou'd be invested with Sovereign Power.

To destroy this supposition, the Count de Bresse (after having back'd his Design with a strong Cabal) represented to the King, that as his Majesty cou'd not stay at *Florence*, it became him to think of maintaining that City in his Party; that the safest and most Commodious way was, not to leave there the Popular Government, then newly Erected, by reason it wou'd be expos'd to continual Seditions, not to be calm'd, save by a Powerful Garrison, which *France* was not then in a Condition to leave; that much better it wou'd be, to recall *Piero de Medici*, and reinstate him in Affairs with so good a Grace, as that he might owe to *France* the whole Obligation of his Restauration, since the gratitude for so great a benefit, being united with the concern of Self-preservation, wou'd link him in an inviolable Union with *France*.

This Reason had the Ascendant, though neither solid nor specious, for that the King did not then think so much of doing things safely, as of expediting them with the soonest. A Courier was dispatch'd away to *Bologna*,

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to advise *Piero de Medici* to return to *Flourence*, but the Courier found him not. He had taken exception, for that *Bentivoglio* when he receiv'd him into his Palace, had blam'd him for being Bug-bear'd with his own Shadow, and for banishing himself from the best Station in *Italy*, without being push'd, or laying his hand to his Sword, he who pretended to so much Bravery. This Correction was unseasonable, and so much the more harsh to support, as being conscious of its being well grounded; but it bore with it came him to pardon this Irregular Discourse in such an impetuous and severe Man as *Bentivoglio*, who fear'd the *Bolognese* might unite after the *Florentines* Example, and constrain him in his turn, to seek out a retreat, in lieu of affording it to others.

In the mean while *Piero de Medici* thought *Bentivoglio* had talkt thus out of Raillery, or to flurr upon him a Bravade. And as Persons in distress have more Diffidence than ordinary, he suspected he might be betray'd, since in his own Presence he was turn'd into Derision. Hereupon he projected to seek out another place of safety, and departed on the morrow without saying whither he went. Insomuch that the Courier having neither been able to find him, nor get tydings of him; *Charles* being oppress'd

to leave *Florence*, was oblig'd to leave it in the State he found it. Eight days after, *Piero de Medici* was known to be at *Venice*, where *Virginio Orsini*, his Ally having brave Troops, treated with him for his re-institution. He advanc'd Courageously into the very sight of *Florence*, but the Correspondence he had in that place not keeping tack at the time prefixt, compell'd he was to return thence, after having advis'd *Piero de Medici* to take his measures better another time. This first Essay did for a long while dishearten those who were able to form others, and gave all the leasure necessary to the Enemies of the House of *Medici*, to put invincible Obstacles to its re-establishment. But as People are almost ever mistaken in the choice of Men, when they do it in haste; it happen'd that *Bernardo Neri*, whom the *Florentines* Elected for *Gonfaloniere*, was the most ardent and best intention'd of the *Medici's* secret Friends. Nevertheless his Magistracy was continued for three years, but almost wholly spent, without his finding any occasion of doing them an Office, as being ever obstructed by *Savonarola*.

This Religious of *St. Dominick* was very Learned, and the most knowing Man that had been in *Italy*, since the Age of the first *Cæsars*. He liv'd in great Austerity, and

check'd Vices in all sorts of Persons, with a boldness, by some styl'd Temerity. He had foretold so many extraordinary things, which falling out all in the Circumstances he had noted, he pass'd for a great Prophet: and the *Florentines* were so strongly persuaded of his Sanctity, that they even Canoniz'd him, during his Life time. His real and suppos'd Talents made him act in *Florence*, with as much Authority, as if he had been Sovereign, since they not only defer'd to his Counsels in Publick Assemblies, but he was moreover the Umpire of Domestick matters, and decided quarrels arising between Husbands and Wives, without there ever being any inexecution or complaint against his Decisions and Decrees. He was prepossess'd with the Opinion of the *Florentines* being more capable of the popular Government, than of any other; and for this reason had he endeavour'd to ruine the Design of the *Medici*, as seeing them addicted to confer the first Offices of the State, on the Principal and Richest Citizens, that so the People might be dis-accustom'd from exercising them, and suffer 'em to enjoy them with the more ease, when they came to talon them with an Usurpation.

Savonarola bottom'd his Practices and Interests upon the same Principles, by calling the

the vilest Mechanicks to the most honourable Functions, nay, and in willing they shou'd officiate them with Gentlemen; I mean, that he thereby aim'd to take away the ancient Antipathy, reigning between the Nobility and the Populace. But hence arose two notable Inconveniences; the one, that Gentlemen, the most capable of exercising the Magistratures, laid them down, as soon as they had heard their Colleagues nam'd; the other, that Coblers, for Example, were daily seen to squat in their Stalls, after having laid aside their Robe of Magistracy. This appear'd so ridiculous at first, and in process of time, so very much spighted the ancient Nobility, that *Neri* found the Nobles almost wholly inclin'd to uphold their Rank.

The first who unbosom'd their Intentions to him were, *Giacomo Ridolphi*, *Lorenzo Tournaburni*, and *Giovanni Bueci*. Others declar'd their Minds as occasion serv'd; but there was not as yet the least glimmering of success for any attempt against *Savonarola*, as long as the People were on his side, and now this Emergency was expected wou'd bereave him of their Affection. The main Policy of the *Medici* had ever been, that the *Florentines* shou'd never want either Bread or Divertisements: and as they had neither an

Ægypt nor a *Sicily*, to make largeſſes of Corn, in imitation of *Augustus*; they had retrench'd their Craft to effect, that the Grain ſhou'd coſt no more one year than another. For this purpoſe they took care to lay up Stores in Granaries, from whence they were fetch'd in time and place, when there had been many barren years together. They took out of the publick Treasury, or their own Coſſers, the ſurpluſage of what this Grain coſt; and when the Famine was general in *Italy*, and throughout all *Europe*, they encharged their Factours in *Aſia* and *Africa* to buy up Corn at *Cairo*, and on the Coaſts of *Barbary*, to freight with it their Ships, and convey it ſafely into *Tuſcany*.

As *Savonarola* was not in a Capacity to do the like, he felt the Counter blow upon the firſt ſcarcity that happen'd. His having Prophecy'd the want, avail'd him not in the leaſt; on the contrary, the *Florentines* took it ſo much the more in dudgeon, that he had us'd no remedy in the caſe. Many of the Mobile no longer ſhew'd ſo much Zeal for his Perſon, and others burſt out ſo far as to twit him, that he wou'd do better to remain in his Cloiſter, than be ſumbling, groping, and ſtribling in a way he did not underſtand. *Neri*, ſeeing the Diſpoſition he expected, fram'd a Party, which ſeem'd ſufficiently

ently strong to re-invest the House of *Medici*. He gave *Piero* the necessary Intimation, and advis'd him to come with the most Troops he cou'd get together, without making much noise.

Piero de Medici having not much Credit among the Souldiers, had recourse to *Bartolomeo de Lelviano*, newly acknowledg'd head of the Family of the *Ursini's*, upon notice of *Virginio's* being poyson'd in the Castle of *Læuf*, at *Naples*. *Lelviano*, reputed the most active and determinate Adventurer of his Age, listen'd to this Proposition, and set about atchieving it. The day was appointed, and the time of Midnight chosen as the most Commodious. The Conspirators concerted their Measures with *Piero de Medici*, and Secrefie was kept by all Parties. *Lelviano's* Souldiers us'd incredible expedition, and met at the Rendezvous, but four Leagues from *Florence*, with *Piero de Medici*, who set himself at their head. But in the very moment they began to file off in good Order, there fell so great a Rain, that instead of the six hours they had reckon'd to accomplish their March in, it cost 'em twelve; so as it was already broad day when they came before the Town. They wou'd nevertheless have surpriz'd *Florence*, there being not the least inckling of their

Design, and that the Conspirators were not wanting to keep the Gate, agreed on, open. But Chance alone frustrated their fore-sight, *Paulo Vitelli* commanding the *Florentine's* Army before *Pisa*, had wanted some Directions ; and as it was an Affair of moment, he had thought his Presence necessary, to procure dispatch. Being on his Journey, but delay'd by the bad Weather, he arriv'd exactly at the Gate, through which *Lalviano* and *Piero de Medici* were going to enter, when he heard behind him a Body of Horse advancing full speed. He lost neither presence of mind, nor judgment ; and suspecting what might possibly be the Design, he himself hall'd up the Bridge, shut the Gate, and gave the Allarm. The Citizens flock'd thither, and *Savonarola*, one of the first, they pointed the Canon against *Lalviano's* Gross, who judging, by the Countenance of the *Florentines*, that nothing was to be expected from the Faction in his Confederacy, he persuaded *Piero de Medici* to a Retreat, both keeping in the Rear of their Men.

For two Months together search was made in vain, after the Authors of the Conspiracy, nor had they been detected, but for one certain *Autelli*, whose Audacity was so great, as to give up to the Magistrates, a Servant of

Neri's

Neri's, without having any other Evidence, but his seeing him Arm'd, on the day *Piero de Medici* offer'd to enter. The Servant being taken into Custody, had shew'd to him the Instruments of the Rack, told all he knew, and the principal Complices were imprison'd. Their Indictment being drawn up, *Savanarola* too late perceiv'd the danger, in punishing so great a number of illustrious Criminals. *Francisco Valeri* had most concern in the Sentence, and prosecuted it with more heat than others. He was *Savanarola's* best Friend, seconded him in all hardy Enterprises, had contributed to his gaining the repute of Holiness; but, in recompence, ruin'd him, by refusing to Sacrifice to the publick Good a petty Interest of Revenge. Now these are the Circumstances I have been able to find out upon so delicate an Affair. I omit others, because that, of so many Authors who speak of *Savanarola's* Catastrophe, there's not one but is prepossess'd with Passion for or against him.

Valeri was *Neri's* mortal Enemy, and resolv'd to ruin him at any rate. The Conjecture for the bringing it about cou'd not be more propitious. *Neri* was convicted of the Conspiracy; but, not with any Face, cou'd they punish him singly, seeing he appear'd no more culpable than his Complices,

wherefore they were all to be Condemn'd to the same Punishment, or Pardon'd ; and *Savanarola*, contrary to Custom, was of Opinion they ought to be Repriev'd. He conjur'd *Valeri* that it might be so ; remonstrated to him the Consequence, representing that all the other Criminals were either his Allies or Friends. But this Bloody minded Man, meerly out of the Pleasure he shou'd take in *Neri's* Punishment, had regard nor to Reason nor to Amity. The Sentence of Death was pronounc'd, and never, in a small State, were there seen more Eminent Persons Executed in one day.

This rejoyc'd the People at first ; and at long run, as is usual, turn'd 'em tender and compassionate. So many re-doubled Executions created a Horrour in them ; they accus'd *Savanarola* of the Butchery. And the Nobles not thinking their own Power sufficient to ruin that Religious, without hazarding the Government, engaged the Court of *Rome* for its own Interests, to second their Endeavours. *Savanarola* had Preach'd against the Vices of Pope *Alexander* the 6th, with the same Freedom he us'd in snubbing and rebuking those of private Persons. Had added, in the heat of his Discourse, how he was not afraid of being Excommunicated for speaking in this manner ; and that it was sufficient

sufficient to give his Enemies the pretext they had so long expected, to seize his Person, as not believing that the Head of the Church, cou'd retrench a simple Monk from the Communion of the Church. They took their measures with the Pope, who sent them Forces. *Savonarola's* Monastery was broke open, after a wonderful resistance of his Friends, who ran in upon the noise. He was found in his Chamber at the Feet of a Crucifix, put into Prison, sev'n whole days spent in taking Informations, examining his Case, and drawing up his Indictment, during which, he made a Commentary upon the Psalms of Penitence, which the most hardned cannot read, without some sense of Devotion. At last he was Condemn'd to the Flames, which he suffer'd with a Constancy seemingly Christian. *Valeri*, the Author of his ruin, meerly to gratifie his Lust of Revenge, was neither cunning enough, nor diligent enough to make his escape. Those who went to invest his Mansion, met him coming out, assassinated him, ran up to his Wife's apartment, serv'd her in like manner, and plunder'd the House.

The *Florentines* were no better inclin'd, in regard of the *Medici*; on the contrary, the aversion of *Savonarola's* Friends, who charg'd the *Medici's* with his Death, induc'd the

the *Florentines* to redouble and produce new Obstacles to their return. *Giuliano de Medici* had taken refuge at *Milan*, where he acquir'd *Lodovico Sforza's* Friendship, and had engag'd him to espouse the Interests of his House. The Army *Sforza* had on foot began to act in *Tuscany*, on that Design, with much Vigour and Success, when the *Venetians* unmask'd their Intentions a little too soon, as to the Treaty they manag'd underhand with the Inhabitants of *Pisa*, in order to receive their Hommage, on condition to cause the Siege of their Town to be rais'd, which the *Florentines* had then two years continued.

Sforza had no sooner the news, but he conceiv'd a jealousy: and the aggrandisement of the *Venetians*, whom he look'd on as his most formidable Adversaries, made him change Conduct towards the *Medici's*. He sent one of his Emissaries to the *Florentines*, to re-unite them among themselves; and his Forces, which laid *Tuscany* waste, had Orders to join those of *Vitelli*, and to press the Siege of *Pisa*. They help'd that General to ruin the Army of *Venice*, that had unadvisedly hamper'd it self in the *Apennine*, and were the principal cause of the Accommodation *Hercules*, Duke of *Ferrara*, since negotiated, and concluded between the two
Common-

Common-wealths, on Condition, that that of *Venice*, shou'd abandon the City and Territory of *Pisa*, to the discretion of that of *Florence*.

The Recoyl of this Accord falling on the House of *Medici*, (because it re-doubl'd the Forces of its Enemies) made it despond of being re-instated. The Eldest of the three Brothers, after having exhausted in the Fore-going Attempts, the effects his Father had left him out of *Florence*, was going to serve in quality of Volunteer, in the Troops of King *Lewis* the 12th, who meditated the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milan*. His younger, *Giuliano*, of a humour more sedate, with-drew to the *Petrucci's*, invested at that time with the principal Authority in *Sienna*, where he Couzen'd his time in Love and Gallantry. And the youngest taking upon him the Title of Cardinal *de Medici* (tho' it was as yet the Mode to call Cardinals by the Name of their Benefices) went to travel throughout *Europe* with *Giulio* his Cozen, as yet neither passing for a Bastard nor Legitimate, and a train of twelve Persons. He put himself into the disguise of a bare Cavalier, to avoid Expence, and wou'd not suffer any difference to be observ'd between himself and his Attendants. They were all mounted and clad alike, had taken Warlike Names,

Names, and every morning drew Lots, who shou'd be own'd for head of the Company, and give Orders that day. This Conduct which they kept out of Precaution, furnish'd them with so many occasions for Mirth and Laughter, that the Cardinal since own'd, amid all the Delights of the Papacy, that in all his Life he had never been better Diverted, not but that new Traverses besell him from time to time ; for they were known in the City of *Ulme* in *Germany*, from whence the Magistrate sent them under a Safe guard, to the Emperour *Maximilian* the 1st. But the Cardinal *de Medici*, having unvail'd his way of Travelling to that Prince, who still entertain'd a Respect for the memory of *Le-renzo*, he was receiv'd magnificently by his Imperial Majesty, and got Letters of Recommendation to *Philip*, Arch Duke of the *Low Countries*, that he might see the more commodiously the seventeen Provinces.

At his leaving of *Flanders*, he had a design to Embark at *Calice*, for *England*. But the Sea was so rough, that those of his Train inclin'd him to see *Normandy*, till it was Calm again. As he was at *Havre de Grace*, waiting for a Ship for his Passage, a *Frenchman* having born Arms in *Italy*, knew him, and went to discover him to the Governour of the place. The Governour stopp'd him with

with all his Retinue, and clapt 'em under Guards.) Nothing did it avail the Cardinal *de Medici*, to declare his Name, and demand to enjoy the Priviledges of his Character; stay he must in *Havre*, till the King, then at *Milan*, had consented to his enlargement. *Piero de Medici* was happily with his Majesty, and serv'd for Warantee of his Brothers having no other Design in his Masquerade, than of Husbanding his Purse.

Thus the General of *Normandy* had order to write to the Governour of *Havre*, to set free the Cardinal *de Medici*, who chang'd his Purpose of going into *England*, and chose rather to cross *France*, in order to take Shipping at *Thoulon*, and make Sail into *Italy*. He saw all Curiosities on his way, and being seiz'd with a storm in the River of *Genova*, it constrain'd him to put in at *Savona*.

There he found the Cardinal of *St. Peter* in Bonds, who had made it his Sanctuary against Pope *Alexander* the 6th. his irreconcilable Enemy. *St. Peter ad Vincula* treated there his Brother, with all the Politeness natural to him, and wou'd needs have *Ginjano de Medici*, then beginning to wear the Cross of *Rhodes*, to be the third at Table. There they discours'd their Concerns with more Freedom, and less Reserve, than if they had known they were to be all three Popes,

Popes, so little appearance was there of the vicissitude which occurred in their Fortune.

Cardinal *de Medici* return'd to *Rome*, under colour of attending upon the Pope, during the *Jubilee* of the year 1500, just going to begin; but in reality, as having learnt that the Duke *de Valentino*, the Pope's Son, had such Designs, as cou'd not speed, but by the re-institution of the *Medici's*. And indeed this Duke, after having oppress'd by an Infinity of unheard of Crimes, all the Petty Sovereigns in *Umbria* and *Romagna*, aspir'd to subdue the Republicks of *Tuscany*. And not being Potent enough to undertake to force them all at once, he pretended to strike up an Alliance with that of *Florence*, that she might help him to subdue that of *Sienna*. However, there was no likelihood of bringing her to it by Offices and Persuasions, the *Florentines* being too subtle and sagacious, not to penetrate to what end they were to be Implements against *Sienna*. Thus they were to be induc'd to it out of Fear.

This was the Cause of Duke *Valentino's* receiving the *Medici's* into his Army, with all imaginable Civilities, and of his promising them their re-institution. He drew near *Florence* with such brisk Troops, as made it not doubted, but he wou'd reduce it to
strange

strange Exigencies, when *Piero de Soderini*, *Neri's* Successor in the Office of *Gonfaloniere*, devis'd an Expedient which sav'd his Country. He went to find out the Ambassadour of France at Rome, and remonstrated to him so efficaciously the most Christian King's Interest to maintain the popular Government at Florence, thereby to keep on Foot a League of Communication between the Realm of Naples, which his Majesty meant to Conquer, and the Dutchy of Milan; which he had already in Possession, that the French Ambassadour press'd the Pope, to make his Son retire into the state of the Church.

The Pope, not daring at that time to deny the French, they being then too powerful in Italy, wrote to the Duke de Valentinois to decamp from off the Territory of Florence, Duke Valentino obey'd, as seeing the French wou'd constrain him to it, unless he did it readily and with alacrity. But as he was the craftiest Man then living, he tore the Letter in pieces, without reading it out. He curst his Father, and declar'd he would not decamp. Soderini took the hint, and apprehended that all the Grimaces of the Duke de Valentinois only tended to hedge in Money, which he durst not demand for fear of offending France, which Crown wou'd have compell'd him to refund. Now to elude his Pretension,

Pretension, there needed no more than making semblance of not understanding his meaning; but as the stay of his Troops did more damage in four and twenty hours, than the sum amounted to, with which he thought he wou'd be content; *Soderini* made no difficulty of offering it him, nor the Duke *Valentino* of accepting it, and dis-lodging.

The following year, 1501, the *Medici's* made their fourth Essay on this Pretext, that the *Florentines* had caus'd their General *Vitelli* to be beheaded, because that having clapt him up in Prison on suspition, found to be ill grounded, they fancy'd he was to be bereft of his Life, to hinder him from taking Revenge. *Vitelli*, his Brother, had put himself into a posture of punishing so black an Ingratitude, and the Souldiers flock'd from all sides to second him. He brought an Army on foot, which wrought no less terror to the *Florentine*, than Duke *Valentino's* had done the year afore. And indeed *Soderini* had no sooner perceiv'd it, than that he took a journey into *France*, by which only the Tempest cou'd be laid. He obtain'd a Dispatch to the Governour of *Milan*, whom *Lewis* the 12th commanded, to compell *Vitelli* instantly to disarm, or march against him with all his Forces. *Vitelli* having no Martialliz'd Troops, wou'd not stand the brunt, and so pleas'd the *Flo-*

rentines,

rentines, by his Retreat, that they Created *Soderini* perpetual Dictator.

The vexation this Created to the House of *Medici*, was so much the more reasonable, as that *Soderini* possess'd all the qualities capable of obtruding their return into their Country, as long as the continuation of his Magistracy. He was Wise, Liberal, Mild, and Provident; never committed any Injustice; and though oblig'd to favour the Commonalty, to whom he was indebted for his Dignity, he so carefully avoided discontenting the Nobles, that not any Gentleman had reason to complain of him, during his Administration. He Corresponded with the Court of *Rome*, by the means of the Cardinal his Brother. But, as he put his principal Confidence in the Protection of the *French*, he liv'd in such good Intelligence with the Cardinal *d'Amboise*, the Most Christian King's Prime Minister, that there must of necessity have happen'd a general Revolt in the Dutchy of *Milan*, afore the Republick of *Florence* cou'd change Face. Nevertheless, not only the Dutchy of *Milan* was then secure, but moreover *France* had the most powerful Army in *Italy*, that had been seen there for several Ages, in order to take the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Spaniards*.

But what plung'd the *Medici's* quite in despair,

spair, was the misfortune which befell the *Orsini's*, on their account. This Warlike Family had engag'd it self to serve among the Troops, under Duke *Valentino*, after having fail'd re-instating that of *Medici*, its double Ally: and as this ill success had diminish'd nothing of their Amity, the *Orsini's* having discover'd, that their General treated with the *Florentines*, to deliver up *Piero*, *Giuliano*, and *Cardinal de Medici*, whom he had then in his Possession and Power; they being all three come to him upon his Word. They gave them notice of it by a Note, which oblig'd them to withdraw without taking leave; Duke *Valentino*, who expended much in Spies, was at length inform'd of the Cause, which had hindred him from earning a hundred thousand Crowns, that were already told out at *Florence*, in order to begiv'n him on that score. And as he had resolv'd, with the Consent and Connivance of his Father, to exterminate the most eminent *Roman* Families, he hasten'd to invite the Members of the *Orsini* Clann, to the Feast of *Senegaglia*, where they were so ill advis'd as almost all to meet there, to perish by a Perfidy well known to all the World.

Their Deaths put the last hand to the undermining all the hopes *Piero de Medici* had left for his Restauration, and so flatted his
Spirits

Spirits into a total Despondency, that from that time forward, he acted as a Man irrecoverably lost. He took Party in the *French Army*, a little afore its being dispers'd at the Passage of *Garillan*. He look'd upon that Rout, as an effect of the Disasters that haunter him in all places, and wou'd needs there finish his Life. Nor was it without Violence, that some of his Friends, faithful to the last, got him to go with them aboard a Vessel, carrying Artillery, wherein he suffer'd Ship-wrack at the Mouth of the River, and was drown'd. His Brother the Cardinal receiv'd the news of his Death at *Rome*, being repair'd thither, to Congratulate the Cardinal of *St. Peter* in Bonds, upon his advancement to the Popedom. He had met with a fainter Reception than he expected from *St. Peter's* Successour, after the protestations of Friendship they had mutually enterchang'd at *Savona*. But the impossibility of the good effect of any other Course, compell'd him to pay his Attendance, and make his Court to his Holiness.

Nevertheless, so little affinity was there in their Humours, that the Cardinal *de Medicis* did quickly perceive, the Pope wou'd never have any Affection for his Person, how assiduous soever in his Devoirs, for that his Holiness had no other Inclination, than

for Military Virtues, and only valu'd Men according as he found them enclin'd to War. Yet the Cardinal *de Medici* had no Talents, save for the Court, and for Intriguing, to which the Pope did not love that any one shou'd be addicted.

This is the Motive put the Cardinal *de Medici* upon contriving indirect means for his Preferment. That which did his business came from the Assiduity he paid to the Cardinal-Nephew, call'd *Galeotto*, much about his Age. He had observ'd this young Cardinal to have no Passion, save for Luxury, and to be only Charm'd with what was glittering to his Eyes. He felt in his Heart a like Disposition; and tho' he had not the means to indulge it in all its extent; yet, strain he did, to imitate, as much as possible this Cardinal Nephew, and resolv'd at the same time, to supply by Neatness and Politeness, what he wanted in abundance.

He found People who lent him Moneys, to make the bravest, gentilest Train; and the Equipage of Hunting, which he kept, had I know not what, so peculiar, and gallant, that bating two or three old Cardinals, whom it scandaliz'd, not a Person at *Rome* but esteem'd him the more. No place of the Town afforded better Eating and Treating than his House; - for tho' he

had

had not serv'd upon his Table, the prodigious number and quantity of Dishes, which the Princes and Cardinals lov'd to pile and saggot upon theirs, the Nice found the *Ragoo's* to be most exquisite upon *Medici's* Board, such a Faculty had the Patrons gay, facetious Humours, at gentilely supplying to Luxury. But what attracted most People, was his Chamberlain, *Bibiana*, whose Match had never been, for entertaining of Company. Well enough made was he of his Person, and retain'd nothing of the Village, his Birth-place, save the Name he bore.

His Wit so pregnant in Inventions, upon whatever matters apply'd to, that those who knew him intimately, averr'd him an inexhaustible Fountain of Joy. He made a pleasing, handsome Reception to all People, had ever an hundred new Stories, for provoking Mirth and Laughter, without ever bolting ought, or Impious, or Low, or Immodest. Sometimes the Fancy took him in the midst of the Repast, to prepare Sauces, which never came into any Cooks head. He set about it, and ever perform'd to the gusts, and contentment of the Guests; or that he was Master of the Art of soothing Peoples Tastes, or that those who judg'd of his Performances, help'd to deceive their own Palates and Judgments. In a word, he still furnisht, after

the meal was done, ingenious ways for Joy and Recreation, for a whole Afternoon together.

Yet, in this, *Bibiana's* topping Wit did not consist, nor was it the most material Service that he did his Master. He had the knack to engage Persons to lend the Cardinal Money, without giving them Security for repayment, or furnishing them with other Mortgage, than the Scheme he had caus'd to be erected of the Cardinal *de Medici's* Nativity, which promis'd this Prelate immense Riches, and maintain'd he would owe nothing at his Death, which prov'd true. But there was then so little shadow of such a vicissitude, that the World cou'd not sufficiently admire his own Boldness, and his Creditors Credulity.

The Learned frequented the Cardinal *de Medici's* Palace on another Motive; for tho' the Library of his Family had been rifl'd, yet it had only lost the Manuscripts, which the King of *England* had caus'd to be bought of the *French* Souldiers. The rest clutch'd by the common People, and the *Suizzers*, were redeem'd at a low rate, by Persons affectionate to the House of *Medici*, and restor'd to the Cardinal, by *Soderini's* Connivance, he being over-joy'd that he drew from *Flourence*, all to him belonging, that he might have

no pretence left for returning thither. The Cardinal, after having plac'd conveniently his Manuscripts, invited Men of Learning to come study in his Palace. They were civilly receiv'd, Persons were at hand capable of solving their difficulties; Conferences were weekly held, at which the Cardinal often assisted, and spoke in his turn with a gracefulness, as Charm'd all his Auditors.

But, as his Predominant Passion was Musick, and as he Sung, and Compos'd to admiration, Consorts were kept, in which the most Expert endeavour'd to acquire or augment their Repute. Thus his Home being become the most curious Retreat in Rome, the Cardinal Nephew meeting only in *Medici's* Palace, his Darling Diversions, resorted thither often, and finding the Master's Humour conformable to his own, struck up with him a strict Union and Friendship. He told his Uncle, that the Esteem he entertain'd for the Cardinal *de Medici*, commenc'd from a Discourse he had heard him make, to shew how a Worthy Man never wants any thing, provided he is not first wanting to himself. And the mutual tye of these two Cardinals became so strong, that the Popes Nephew engag'd to promote, by all possible means, Cardinal *de Medici's* Election, when the Holy See shou'd fall vacant. But he

knew not of his dying before his Uncle, and that he shou'd not be in a condition to perform his Promise. A burning Fever, three years after, cropt him off in the Flower of his Age. His death so sensibly afflicted Cardinal *de Medici*, that he wou'd have been disconsolate, but for an advantage he thence deriv'd, beyond his Expectation.

The Pope, who had an extraordinary fondness for his Nephew, fell to cherish such things as cou'd sweeten the memory of him, and became more familiar with Cardinal *de Medici*. He wou'd needs have him tell him what they had perform'd together most gallant, and suffer'd him insensibly to make some Digressions upon the Restauration of his Family; Nay, he one day told him, he might endeavour it without being disown'd, provided he did not expose his Purple, or the Authority of the Holy See. And the Cardinal, who cou'd not then expect to obtain any thing more, form'd in *Florence* a new Party, by the help of his youngest Sister. Her Name, *Lucretia*, and Nature had endow'd her with so little Beauty, as put her under the constraint of Wedding *Giacopo Salviati*, a Person nor the Chief, nor the Richest of his Family; but in recompence, she abounded so in Wit, that she insinuated herself into the good Humour of all that knew her.

ber. She prov'd extraordinary pregnant, and the multitude of her Children, made her afraid of one day wanting necessaries for their subsistence. The means to provide against such a Calamity, was to contribute (as much as in her lay) to the re-establishment of her Brothers, but she met very great Obstacles in her pursuit of this Design. For her Husband had been one of *Savonarola's* Intimates, and his mind was still prejudic'd with the Maxims of that Priest. However, as there is hardly any thing, but what Women obtain from those who love them, when they persevere in their colloquing Importunities, *Lucretia de Medici* at last, entic'd *Salvetti* to act obliquely and against his own Interests and Sentiments, and to solicit under-hand, the calling back of a Family, which he foresaw must needs, one day, bereave his Country of its Freedom.

Nevertheless, he went so craftily to Work, as gave not the least hold on him; for whereas those who had gone before him in this Project, had declar'd it openly, he kept his Game close, and only Caball'd in such manner, as to discredit *Soderini*, and thwart all he aim'd at having done. He found most of the Nobles in the Disposition he desir'd, and in three Months space, hamper'd the Dictator in

in such a Perplexity, that any other than he, wou'd have despair'd of getting rid of. The Dictator propos'd not any Person to the mind of that Critical Faction. Whatever a Mans Abilities might be, he was ever put by, when propos'd by *Soderini*; and if any one suddenly allow'd of, it was such an one as of whom they hop'd suddenly to have occasion to make Complaints, so to reject upon the Government, the Faults he committed. The Dictators best actions were ill interpreted, and the least aggravated beyond probability. They tang'd the Good, and added to the Bad, that so they might have the more dangerous effects; but all this was only Froth of the Sea against a Rock.

Soderini only confronted Patience against so many Contradictions; but this Patience being ever equal, broak and surmounted, at the long run, all that jostl'd it. He used this address, of whose Knowledge, it would be a Crime to rob the Reader. He had still fresh Men to present in the room of those, against whom *Salviati* and his Caball had past the Exclusion, and the Merit of those Men so Conspicuous, that the Malignity wou'd have been too palpable in rejecting them. They, as soon as in Employment, were most peculiarly solicitous to commit no Faults, as seeing themselves too narrowly watch;

watcht; and when they had tript and blunder'd, they chose rather to be their own Accusers in Publick, than give occasion to their Adversaries, to heighten their Failings, by Malevolent Calumnies and Impeachments.

Soderini protect'd them, on his part, with an ingenious firmness; he ever gave the People pertinent Reasons for his Conduct; he kept under-hand credible Agents enow among the Populace, to inform him of News, according as they were buzz'd about; and laying down for Principle, that nothing could alter the Government of *Florence*, as long as the *French* were Potent in *Italy*. He maintain'd his good Understanding with the Majesty of *France* his Ministers, and lest vulgar Concernes to take their wonted course. And indeed, tho' Cardinal *de Medici* lay still at lurch, and the number of his Friends augmented daily at *Florence*, forc'd was he to wait for a stronger Machine than his own, to stagger the Foundation of *Soderini's* Greatness.

Pope *Giulio* having banish'd from his Heart the Inclination he had formerly had for *France*, above thirty years together, became its greatest Enemy, and graspt at nothing less, than the recovering from that Crown, all it held beyond the *Alpes*.

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To execute so magnanimous a Project, not a more fitting Minister had he, than the Cardinal *de Medici*, as being most concern'd in the Design, and the Pope fixt his Eyes on him to be its principal Instrument, by Creating him Legate of *Bologna*. The Cardinal *de Medici* accepted this Commission, rather to evade the Duns and Importunities of his Creditors, beginning to persecute him, than out of any prospect he had of Success. In a few days after his Arrival at *Bologna*, he perform'd an important piece of Service to the Ecclesiastical State, by discovering a Party, framing to restore the *Bentivogli's* to the Possession of that agreeable City. Then he fell to observing *Soderini*, who seeing *France* embroil'd with the Church, caus'd the *Florentines* to declare in favour of the Most Christian King, tho' he well enough foresaw the extraordinary accumulation of Troubles he was going to draw upon his Back.

The *French* not having found a Holiness hardy enough to thwart them directly, since *Boniface* the 8th, who had been so unsuccessful in so doing, shew'd at first an irresolution, as redoubled their Enemies Courage, then perceiving their fault, fell of a sudden into the other extremity, which consisted in keeping no more measures with the Pope. They accus'd him of having ascended the Throne of

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not a Saint Peter, by two irregular ways, those of Symony and Fraud. To justify the Simony, they instanc'd the Benefices and Legations promis'd in the Conclave, and giv'n after the Election to the Cardinals, Heads of the Faction, and specify'd the sums of Money which the other Cardinals had receiv'd for the price of their Suffrages.

To lay open the deceit, demonstrated it was to the same Pope, that the *Spanish* Cardinals being ingag'd by Oath, to give their Votes only for him who shou'd be propos'd to them by Duke *Valentino*; the Cardinal of St. Peter in Bonds, that Duke's sworn Enemy, had him perswaded, by suborned Persons, into a Belief of his being his Father; that he had had Commerce with his Mother, at the time she seem'd to abandon her self only to Cardinal *Borgia*, afterwards *Alexander* the 6th, that the jealousy this same *Borgia* had conceiv'd of him, had been the only cause of the Persecution he made him suffer, for above ten years together; but now the thing in hand, being the Creating another Pope, if he'd favour his Promotion, he'd treat him as his Son. Duke *Valentino* crediting what had been told him under the Rose, gave so far way, as to consent, that the Cardinals of the Faction shou'd Elect St. Peter in Bonds, who fail'd not immediately af-
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ter to divest him of all *Romagna* and *Umbria*, instead of owning him for his Son.

In process of these Mysteries, which the *French* openly reveal'd, they form'd a Party of eight Cardinals, the most considerable of the Sacred Colledge. Dean *Catuaial* was one, upon a Promise made him, of choosing him, after *Giulio* was deposed. And *San Severino*, who, having ever been a declared Partizan for *France*, thought it an Infamy to abandon that Crown, in a Conjecture, when the Pope was the Aggressor: but the most esteem'd of all, was the Cardinal *Soderini*, Brother to the perpetual Dictator of *Florence*.

This Prelate, in the common vogue, had all the qualities requisite to the being a Pope. Learned, Serious, Bold, and Staid in all his actions, had ever liv'd in such sort, as that he cou'd be upbraided with nothing of Incontinency, dishonouring *Giulio's* Papacy. And the severity of Life he affected, gave room to hope, that, when Pope, he would usefully labour to the reformation of Manners. Not but that he had two Infirmities capable of balancing so many Virtues, namely, Ambition, and Avarice; but he mask'd them with so many Precautions, that they only seem'd a loftiness of Soul, and an inclination to Thriftiness, which all the *Florentines* had

and the imputation* of bringing from their Mothers Womb. The consideration of his Brother, and his own Merits, made *France* give him a greater share in its Concerns, than to the other sev'n of the Faction. And as their Interests were inseparable, *France* had most influence in all to him propos'd. However, the subtilty of his Wit, had made him discover a way, he judg'd infallible, for the attaining his aim, if it appear'd he stood Neuter: For, if *France* had the advantage, and the Pope depos'd, it wou'd be oblig'd to put him in his room, as not being able to find any Subject in the Sacred Colledge, in whom that Crown cou'd put so much Confidence, as in him: and if the Pope remain'd Conquerour, the firmness he shou'd have exerted, by remaining with his Holiness (tho' all his Relations and Friends were in the Adverse Party) wou'd serve him for a strong Recommendation in the future Conclave.

Upon this Chimerical Ratiocination, Cardinal *Soderini* gave the *French* King's Ministers, in *Italy*, to understand, and persuaded them, that they must leave, at least, a Trimming Cardinal, of their Faction, at *Rome*, to have an eye to *Giulio's* Conduct, and to give such true Advices, as that they might afford them Credence, without fearing to be mistaken. Then he offer'd to be the Man, who shou'd

shou'd act so dangerous and difficult a part. Taken, was he, at his word, as imagining the bare Zeal he had for *France*, made him say it. Thus *Giulio* being departed *Rome*, to go to *Bologna*, the seven Cardinals left him on the Road, and gave out, that their Intention was to hold a Council, after the Example of that of *Constance*, for the reforming of the Church, in its Head and in its Members. They wanted, for this purpose, a City, on the one side not too far remote from the Theatre of War, and on the other, safe from Surprize. And *Salerini* was desir'd to lend them that of *Pisa*. He sufficiently foresaw, that if he did so, he shou'd render the Pope his irreconcilable Adversary, and give a plausible Pretext to other his Enemies, to decry his Administration. Nevertheless, he did not one moment hesitate to grant it, whether the Demand seem'd to him equally just and necessary, or that he was already too far engag'd to go back.

Thus the Council was conven'd at *Pisa*. And the Pope, a Pretender to Intrepidity, dreaded it at first; but was re-incourag'd by *Antonio de Monte*, the famous Lawyer, whom he had made Cardinal at the first Promotion. This *Monté* represented to him, that two notable Flaws were in the Convocation of the seven Cardinals; one, That the term

of four Months, therein prescrib'd to all Bishops in *Christendom*, to come thither, was too short; and the other, the City of *Pisa*. Whereupon he exhorted the Pope to avail himself of these two Faults, not by shunning and declining a Council, which wou'd render him Criminal, in the Opinion of most of the Faithful; but by Convening another Council, in a place he was Master of, and where, by consequence, nothing cou'd be decided to his Prejudice. The Pope follow'd his Advice, and call'd, on his side, a Council for the year following, 1513, at *Rome*, in the Church of *Lateran*. This Action maintain'd *Giulio* in the Pontificate, by dividing the Believers into the uncertainty, of deferring to the one or other Council. Cardinal *de Medicis* made admirable advantage of this, to reconcile, in *Tuscany*, his Friends with those who cou'd not brook that the seven Male-content Cardinals shou'd draw up the Popes Process. He put so many Men in Arms that the Garrison of *Florence*, which guarded the Council, was not sufficient to Ward and Target it from insult.

The Council wrote their Distress to the Most Christian King's Ministers, in the Dutchy of *Milan*, who sent them immediately, with *M. de Lautrec*, four hundred Men at Arms, the briskest of the

French Army. This re-inforcement gave the House of *Medici's* Friends the occasion, they had so long waited for, to Spirit from *Soderini's* Party, the common People of *Florence*. Their Emissaries made their Complaints ring from Quarter to Quarter, how *Soderini*, that perpetual Dictator, who boasted his being so passionate for the wellfare of his Country, yet made no scruple of delivering up to Strangers, a City, which the *Florentines* had not reduc'd, till after a War of eighteen years.

As the common People of *Florence* had been furiously Cock-a-hoop and Passionate, to see those of *Pisa* reduced under their Laws, the bare apprehension of *Lautrec's* setting them again at liberty, though false, cancell'd the Affection they had for *Soderini*. This change render'd the Nobility more bold, and made them write to the Friends they had in *Pisa*, that they shou'd in no wise brook the *French* to be strongest in that place. There needed no more to foment a Sedition, from whence the Pope, and the House of *Medici* derived great advantages. The Officers of the *Florentine* Garrison, at *Pisa*, after having represented to their own Souldiers, that their Interests, and the Honour of their Country, were concern'd, to be the only Guards to the Council, they reviv'd the jea-

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house of the Citizens, by asking them in way of Raillery, whether it was to try the Virtue of their Wives and Daughters, that they Quarter'd the *French* in their Houses. Thus the first Contest that happen'd degenerated into a horrible tumult. The Citizens and *Dead-paves* nabb'd the *French* at unawares, cut 'em in pieces, and *Lautrec* himself had there lost his Life, but for the generosity of the Magistrates Son, who disengag'd him from the midst of a Seditious Rout, by whom he was surrounded.

The Council having understood the Hub-bub to be general, and that the *French* ply'd and yielded ground, were under apprehensions that the Seditious might deliver them to the Pope, and as there were no hopes for Mercy, if it so happen'd, it dissolv'd it self, and each Member of it betook himself to his Heels, flying that way where his wounded imagination directed him for safety. The seven Cardinals never drew Bit, till they were in the Dutchy of *Milan*; and the Sedition was appeas'd as soon as *Pisa* was clear'd of Strangers. *Soderini* had too much experience, not to know the Check his Authority receiv'd, by so sudden and so easie a Revolution. He set about repairing it. And fain wou'd he have persuaded the Cardinals and Bishops to return to *Pisa*, where he offer'd to

have them guarded by Troops Levied in *Tuscany*, Trusty and Loyal to him; but he talk'd to People, whom Fear had bereft of their Judgment.

Soderini made the Proposal of it; but Cardinal *de Medici's* Friends, having had the leasure to make their Caball, treated it as ridiculous. The People were also of Opinion, it to be in no wise for their safety, to incur the Displeasure of the Court of *Rome*, nor expose themselves to the thunder of the *Vatican*; and the Assembly broke up, without coming to any Result. Thus the Council was compell'd, upon the Adjournment, to continue its Sessions at *Milan*, while the Armies acted on either side, to support and to destroy it.

The Cardinal *de Medici*, being Legate in that of the League form'd for the Pope, caus'd Siege to be laid to *Bologna*, where the *Bentivoglii's* were newly re-instated. *Gaston de Foix* relieved this place, by the quickest and boldest Action recorded in History, and fought the Battel of *Ravenna*, where the Confederate Army was defeated. The Cardinal Legate being taken Prisoner in that Action, good luck wou'd have it, that he fell into the hands of Cardinal *da san Severo*, performing the same Function in the French Camp. Their ancient Friendships

was renew'd in that Conjunction; and *San Severino*, more a Souldier than a Politician, permitted *Medici* to send a Gentleman to *Cesana*, whither his Cousin *Giulio*, who already took upon him the Title of the Commander de *Medici*, had made his escape. This Gentleman carry'd *Giulio* a safe Conduct, to go and come to the French Leaguer in safety.

The Cardinal *da San Severino* imagin'd, he of *Medici* had no other drift, than to send his Cousin to *Rome*, there to sollicite his Ransom, but this prov'd a mistake: For the Cardinal de *Medici* foreseeing the Consternation, the loss of the Battel wou'd occasion in *Rome*, intended to re-incourage the Pope, by giving him to understand, by a Man of Credence, such an one as the Commander, That the Concerns of the Conquerours were in a worse Posture, than those of his Holiness. And indeed, the Commander's Journey was the principal Remedy of the Popes Affairs. His Holiness being just upon the point of flying from *Rome*, and going to embark at *Ostia*, as having newly discover'd, that the *Orsini's* were in treaty with the French to take him, and lead him by main force to the Council.

The certain advices the Commander brought, of the Feebleness of the French, and

the Harangue he made of it in full Consistory, where the Pope wou'd have him heard, caus'd the Resolution of scampering, to be chang'd into that of setting the Army again on foot. The Expedient broach'd by Cardinal *de Medici*, in his Letter for the compelling the *French* Troops to disband, was approv'd in all points, and Merits being known.

He demanded an absolute Power to be sent him, to absolve the *French*, who had fought at *Ravenna*, without specifying the fruit he pretended to reap thereby, and the Brief accordingly was forthwith expedited. The Commander carried it to the Cardinal *de Medici*, who had been Conducted to *Milan*; and the Cardinal was industrious to get it rumor'd among the Souldiers. Such as had tenderness of Conscience, flock'd in Crowds to receive Absolution; and as the only Pennance impos'd on them, was not to fall any more into the same Fault, the Companies began to be very thin and clear in a few days. There happen'd another inconvenience, little less to be fear'd; for those who had been absolv'd, valuing themselves, upon despising the Council, receiv'd, with hissings, the Citations made to the Pope, at the Door of the great Church. From hence proceeded the Intreaties, which the

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Council made to the Most Christian King's Ministers, to cause the Cardinal *de Medici* to pass the *Alpes*, which they did not grant, till constrain'd thereto. And indeed the General of *Normandy*, Intendant of the *French Army*, having disbanded almost all the Infantry, out of an unseasonable piece of Thrift, the Forces of the League being re-establish'd, by a reinforcement of sixteen thousand *Suizzers*, which the Bishop of *Sion* had Leavy'd upon his own Credit, in favour of the Pope, drew near the *Milanese* with such Alacrity and Boldness, as made the Fathers of the Council judge they were not in safety, in the Capital City of that Dutchy. They had permission giv'n them to go into *France*, and the same Troops, which serv'd them for Convoy, had order to Conduct thither the Cardinal *de Medici*. This plung'd that Prelate into so great a Melancholly, so much the deeper bottom'd, in that he cou'd expect no less, than to languish in an eternal Imprisonment, if he pass'd the *Alpes*: for as his Quality, and the Function he perform'd, in the moment of his taking, induc'd those who had him, to set his Ransome at an excessive Price, and, that besides, his House was so absolutely Ruin'd, that it had no other recovery, save in his Person. The Pope, whose humour, prone to Tenaciousness, be-

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ing not press'd by any Potentate to redeem him, wou'd never do it of his own accord; and the Cardinals Consideration coming to diminish, a thing inevitable, according as he shou'd remain longer in Prison, in process of time they wou'd make no more account of him, than of a Man in his Grave.

This Motive determin'd him, by all the means possible, to seek the occasion of making his escape, afore constrain'd to pass the *Alpes*. He conferr'd about it with the Abbot *Bongalle*, taken and left with him, in quality of Chamberlain, and their Resolve was, the endeavouring to Corrupt some or other to attempt their rescue. They had, for this purpose, the Money giv'n them, for Certificates of Absolution, and the sum sufficiently considerable; the number of those demanding those Certificates, being so great, that the Cardinal and his Servants had been constrain'd to drudge at it Day and Night, during their abode at *Milan*. They had also some Rings, which the generous Countess *Bianca Rangoni* had accomodated them withall, in their passage thro' *Bologna*; and the Cardinal *de Medici* had, all his Life long, so tender an acknowledgment for this Obligation, that he thought himself still indebted to that fair Lady, after having made

made one of her Sons Cardinal, and the other General of the Armies of the Church. But he met with, on the way, so few Persons proper for the perpetrating his Design, that he arriv'd on the brink of the *Po*, in the Territory of *Florence*. The Fathers of the Council still trembling, were obstinately earnest to pass the River that same Evening, so to put it between them, and the Popes Men, whom they fancy'd at their heels. They found Boats ready, and in they went. But the Cardinal *de Medici* dreaded passing it, through a contrary Sentiment; for he foresaw, that after his Passage, no more means wou'd there be for his escape. The anxiety he lay under, gave him the grudging of a fever, which serv'd him for a pretext to ask of the Souldiers, who staid about him, the permission of passing the Night in the Village of *Carro*, standing upon the River, on the *Milan* side.

Two things made them not deny him this Request; the one, that the Mareschal *de Trimulee* had ordered they shou'd use him with due Respect, and all possible Civility; the other, that the Vineyards of *Carro* being much esteem'd, the Souldiers not attending the Fathers of the Council, did not want much entreaty to sup there. Thus Cardinal *de Medici* was left in the Village; and the Abbot

Abbot *Bongalle*, after having had him put to Bed, and taken with him his Money and Jewels, went to find out a Gentleman of his acquaintance, call'd *Rinaldo Zaffi*, at his Castle not far distant. This *Zaffi* was an Old Cavalier, had serv'd till grown hoary in his Armour, and did not retire home, till after the *French*, whom he hated, were become Masters of the Dutchy of *Milan*; he had made semblance of accomodating himself with them, that he might enjoy in quiet, the beauteous Lands he possess'd along the *Po*; but, in reality, only waited for an occasion to injure them, without ruining himself. He receiv'd very civilly the Abbot *Bongalle*, and testify'd much joy at the news he told him, that (according to all appearances) the *French* were going to be driven out of *Italy*. *Bongalle* finding him in so favourable a disposition, disclos'd his Design, withall proposing Cardinal *de Medici's* Rescue, after having prov'd this Cardinal to be the Worthiest Member of the Sacred Colledge, and so in reason to be the most consider'd of those, who pretended to the Papacy. Nevertheless, they were leading him into *France*, where sure he was of ending his days in the same Prison, wherein *Lodovico Sforza* died at ten years end, if not suddenly snatched from a score of Drunkards, who began to guzzle and

and drown their Senses in the Inn of *Carro*. The remembrance of *Lodovico Sforza*, whose Menial Servant *Zacchi* had been, reviv'd his aversion to *France*, and the easiness of saving the Cardinal *de Medici*, flusht him with the desire.

Nevertheless, he did not positively engage, and gave no other promise to the Abbot *Bongalle*, but of going to Communicate the business to a Gentleman, call'd *Vismbar-di*, his Neighbour and intimate Friend, tho' he had sided with *France*. That if *Vismbar-di* wou'd be of the Party, they two together shou'd be strong enough, with their Domesticks, to rescue the Cardinal *de Medici*, and wou'd not fail of undertaking it; but if that Gentleman refus'd him his Assistance, it was not to be hoped he wou'd hazzard alone, a Rescue of that Consequence.

The Abbot *Bongalle* was little satisfy'd, with seeing the liberty of his Patron remitted to the Caprice of a Man of a contrary Faction. However comply'd, for want of a better Expedient, and only askt *Zacchi*, by what means he might know if *Vismbar-di* wou'd second him, or not. *Zacchi* reply'd, that if this Gentleman did not espouse the undertaking, no news were from him to be expected, but that if he did, he wou'd send him word

word, for a token, by a young Boy, that *all was ready*. *Bongalle* return'd to Cardinal *de Medici*, to render him an account of what he had done, and gave him not so much Hope as Fear. *Zacchi*, on his side, found *Vismibardi* far from the design, he meant to inspire into him. Nevertheless, he represented to him with so much efficacy, that affairs were ruin'd, that no measures were to be kept with People flying and scampering, and that Wisdom requir'd the reconciling ones self with the Conquerours, by rendring them an eminent piece of Service, that *Vismibardi* gave way, and promis'd *Zacchi* to meet him about one a Clock at Night, with all the Friends and Domesticks he could get together.

Zacchi return'd home to make ready, and commanded a young Boy to go to the Inn of *Carro*, ask for the Abbot *Bongalle*, and tell him, *all was ready*. The Lad, on the way, forgot half of his Commission, and remembered nothing more, when come to the Inn, save asking to speak with the Abbot, without adding any proper name: The Person the Child spoke to, was a *French Pedee*, who hearing him mention an Abbot, imagin'd him to be the same, to whose care the Fathers of the Council, upon their passing the *Po*, had recommended the Cardinal

Medici

Medici. They had conjur'd him not to suffer him out of sight, and to make him pass the River very early; for that intent the Souldiers of the Guard had a most peculiar Order to obey him.

The *French* Boy calls this Abböt; and the Child, not knowing *Bongalle*, believ'd it to be the same then present, thought he was to do his Message, and tell him, *All was ready*. Then wou'd the Lad have gone his ways, but the Abbot he had spoken to, not knowing what he meant, staid him, and askt him several questions, which he did not so handsomly clear, tho' he pretended to come from a poor Peasant, whom he call'd his Father, but that the *French* Abbot suspected some Mystery.

He commanded the Souldiers to redouble their Vigilance, for the guard of their Prisoner, and went himself to find out the Ferry-Men that they might make ready to carry over the Cardinal at break of Day, while the Cardinal and his Chamberlain were under strange disquiets. As they had had no inkling of the little Boys adventure, they conceiv'd *Zacti* to have fail'd in his word to them, or that *Vismbarde* refus'd to second him. They despair'd of their delivery, after having spent the Night without hearing any Noise, or receiving any Notice. And it was
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not so much with a set design, as through a kind of retchlesness, which Persons fall in when destitute of all hopes; that the Cardinal *de Medici* was still musing in his Bed, when summon'd to make ready to pass the River. Up got he, mounted his Mule, gave his Benediction to the Passengers, thronging to receive it at the Inn door, and so suffered them to lead him where they listed.

The two fore Feet of his Mule were already in the Boat, when he heard a noise behind him, which made him turn his head. 'Twas *Zastli* with *Vismbar di*, who came full Gallop, crying, *Liberty*. They surrounded the Cardinal to preserve him from danger, during the Conflict, which they expected to be sharp; but the *French* seeing the Match unequal, chose rather to abandon a Prisoner, whom it was no longer possible for them to keep, and throw themselves into the Boat, just at hand, than to engage in a Combat, to them unprofitable, even tho' attended with Success.

Thus *Zastli* and his Companion remain'd Masters of the Cardinal's Person, and not daring to take him home to their own Houses, where they expected search to be made; *Vismbar di* urg'd the Conducting him to *Barnabo Malaspino's* Castle, as being a place near enough the State of *Genova*, for them there

to take Refuge, in case of pursuit. *Malespina* being their Friend, at first made them a kind Reception; but after they had told him their business, and shew'd him the Cardinal *de Medici*, then in disguise, and passing only for a Cavalier of their Train; then *Malespina* put on a more serious look, remonstrated to them their Imprudence, in having ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes, to save a Person, to them indifferent; accus'd them of coming only to his House, to render him the Complice of their Crime, and using them as Enemies, sent them surlily away, after having taken from them the Cardinal *de Medici*.

He shut up the Cardinal in a Tennis-Court, till such time as he had receiv'd directions from the Mareschal *Trimulee*, Governour of *Milan*, for *France*, what course to take with the Prisoner Fortune had put into his Hands. *Trimulee* receiv'd *Malespina's* Courier in the very time, that two *French* Souldiers, of the number of those who had been push'd by the Confederate Army at the Pass of *Mincio*, had put *Milan* into a Consternation, by divulging, that the Enemy wou'd be suddenly at the Gates. The mischief prov'd much greater than reported; for that the *French* Army, after this defeat, despairing of retaining *Milan*, march'd away towards the *Alpes*: So as *Trimulee* had no more measures

tures to keep with People that abandon'd him, notwithstanding he had sacrific'd all for them. He wrote a Letter to *Malespina*, to advise him to make a Friend of the Cardinal *de Medici*, by letting him go, provided he did it with such Cautions, as not to seem the having contributed to his Escape.

Malespina follow'd this Council, and went by night to the Cardinal *de Medici*, in the Tennis-Court, let him know the importance of the Service he meant to do him, and agreed with him that one of his Servants should open the door, and keep him Company, that *Malespina* might rumour it abroad, the Cardinal had Corrupted him. The thing pass'd as projected; but the Cardinal went not far without falling into the *Banditti's* hands, who dismount'd him, took what Money he had, and kill'd *Malespina's* Servant for standing on his defence. Then the Cardinal wander'd alone up and down the Fields, without wisting where he was, till he met a Curate, who knowing him, led him into his Presbytery, made him the best Cheer he cou'd, and lent him his Mare to carry him as far as *Plaisance*.

He arriv'd at that City a moment after he had put it self, of its own proper motion, under the Popes Obedience; insomuch that the Cardinal *de Medici*, who entred in disguise, laid hold of the Conjuncture to make him

self known; and took upon him again the Badges of his Legation. He dispatcht the most urgent affairs, and departed immediately after for *Bologna*, with a sufficient Convoy. There he found the Inhabitants busy'd with driving out the *Bentivoglio's*, and in setting up the Arms of the Church. They accepted him for their Governour, till the Pope shou'd otherwise Decree. He receiv'd the Bull of it with so much the more joy, as that Fortune cou'd not send him an Employ more commodious, to lye at catch for his Families re-establishment in *Florence*. And indeed the Deputies of the Pope, of the King of *Spain*, and of *Italy*, being assembled at *Mantoua*, to regulate the Revenge to be inflicted on those who had assisted the *French*; *Giuliano de Medici* being sent thither by the Cardinal his Brother, demanded permission to return into his Country. *Soderini* had foreseen this Request, and dispatcht his Brother to *Mantoua*, to disappoint it. Thus the affair being of Consequence, and the Parties present, they were allow'd to debate their Pretensions in Publick, before the Deputies of the League.

Giuliano de Medici maintain'd, that the *Florentines* ought to be treated as Disturbers of the Peace of *Italy*; and undergo the Penalties ordain'd by the *Roman Law*,

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against

against the Disserters of the common Cause, seeing they had sent Succours to the assistance of the *French*, in the Land of *Milan*. *Soderini's* Brother, being a great Lawyer answer'd pertinently to the Accusation, and render'd it ridiculous. He own'd the point in issue, but shew'd a Treaty the *Florentines* had concluded, long afore, with the *French*, for the giving one another mutually a limitted Succours, if needed by *Tuscany* on one side, and the Dutchy of *Milan* on the other.

He added, that the *Spaniards*, holding the first Rank in *Italy*, after the Pope, had so little thought this Treaty prejudicial to them, in what related to the Kingdom of *Naples*, that the Republick of *Florence* had thereunto consented. And how it was, by virtue of this Treaty, that the Great Captain had receiv'd Cavalry from *Florence*, when he disputed the Pass at *Garillan*; that with exception to the Articles stipulated in those two Treaties, the *Florentines* had inviolably observ'd the Neutrality, that their Colours had neither been unfolded in the Army of *Gaston de Foix*, nor in that of *Marshall de la Palice*, and that the two Parties had been equally receiv'd and furnish'd with Provisions, in their passage through *Tuscany*.

These Reasons were concluding, principally in regard of the *Spaniards*, the principal

pal Judges in the Case. And 'tis not doubted, but that *Soderini's* Brother had gain'd his Cause, if he had spoke before Judges as dis-interested, as they were Intelligent. But as they had to do with Souldiers, who knew not how to do Justice, without thereby reaping Profit, one of his Friends, advis'd him under-hand, not to trust so absolutely in the merits of his Cause, that this shou'd hinder him from distributing, in the Assembly, the Gold and Silver he had brought along from *Florence*. He slighted the Advice, and repartee'd, that if he did it, his Brother wou'd have reason to tax him with Prodigality, and upbraid him, that he had had a very ill Opinion of his Cause, since he had offer'd to Corrupt his Judges.

Giuliano de Medici did not follow the same Course, and pour'd out whole handfuls of Gold, which the Cardinal his Brother had borrow'd from the principal Citizens of *Bologna*. The Assembly was almost wholly compos'd of Deputies of the States of *Italy*, and of *Spanish* Colonels, who having lost their Equipages, at the Battel of *Ravenna*, were contriving to set themselves up again, and were not affected with the Generous Sentiments, that wou'd have made Impression upon the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and the Governour of *Milan*, who had sent them.

Insomuch that *Giuliano de Medici* taking them by their weak side, perswaded them, that the affair in agitation, was a thing of Grace, and not of Justice, and got from them a Sentence, in form of Proscription, against the Republick of *Florence*, tho' they had declar'd, two hours afore, to *Soderini's* Brother, that nothing cou'd be more unjust, than the Pretentions of the *Medici*.

Soderini having receiv'd the News of it, did not lose time, in declaming against his Brother's Imprudence and Parcimony. He took out what was most precious in the Publick Treasury, and putting it into the Hands of his principal Confident, call'd *Giovanni Giacopo Albizzi*, sent him to *Raymond of Cardonna*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, to indeavour, by all means, the obstructing the Execution of the Sentence. *Cardonna* was a Man not of a humour to violate Equity, when the Orders of the Catholick King, his Master, did not enforce him to it. He had disapprov'd the Result of the Assembly of *Mantoua*, and made so kind a Reception to *Soderini's* Envoy, as conceiv'd a jealousy in the Cardinal de *Medici*, who had spy'es about that Vice-King, and made him not doubt, but that he wou'd thwart them, if the affair depended on him. And nevertheless, easie was it to see that he wou'd be Master of the business, in case the
least

least protracted. Wherefore necessary was it to induce those who had newly proscrib'd the *Florentines* to depart immediately, to go themselves execute the Proscription, and *Giuliano de Medici* dispos'd them to it, by new Presents. The Duke of *Attio* and *Petro de Padillo*, who had been Corrupted, march'd thither the *Spanish* Infantry, and the Pope's Troops had orders to follow them.

The Duke of *Urbino*, the Pope's Nephew, Commanding these Forces, had more Interest to buoy up *Soderini*, who cou'd not injure him, than re-establish those who did not love him. He practis'd all imaginable shifts, to dispense his obeying the Pope, his Uncle, he caus'd the Artillery to be nail'd, and wou'd needs imploy his Souldiers in some other expedition. But the *Orfini's* led him thither against his will, and the *Spaniards* being engag'd in the Siege of *Prato*, where they met with a vigorous Defence; two Foot Souldiers observ'd a Defect in the Wall, and shew'd it to their Companions, who there forc'd the Place. All in it underwent Fire and Sword; and the news being carry'd to *Florence*, occasion'd there a pannick Terror. To remedy which, *Soderini* went himself to the Houses, and had those seiz'd whom he suspected of Correspondence with the *Medici*. The Tumult increasing, compell'd him to retire from the Guild-Hall to his own

House, where, putting on a disguise, he fled into *Dalmatia*.

The *Medici's* made their entrance into *Florence*, as in Triumph, and seizing on the Publick Treasure, distributed the better part of it to the Troops that follow'd them, and paid their Debts with the rest. They dispos'd of the Government, according to their Fancy, and convening the People, oblig'd them to abolish all that had been done, during the eighteen years their Exile had lasted. Then they presented to them sev'nty Persons, such as were at their Devotion, to supply the Magistracy; and out of this number was it, that the two Supream Councils were chosen, the one of eight Senators, who shou'd Judge thenceforward, and without farther Appeal of Properties and of Life; and the other Ten, who shou'd resolve the Affairs of Peace and War. They re-establish'd the Charge of *Gonfalioniere* to be officiated, during two Months only, and the first they conferr'd it on, was their Brother in Law *Ridolfi*, who not daring to act overtly against *Soderini's* Friends, remaining in the City, devis'd retrospecting their past Conduct, so to fright them, and incline them to seek, of their own Election, another abode. The most considerable of those he persecuted, was the Celebrated *Nicolo Machiavelli*. This wonder-

ful

ful Genius was not of mean Birth, but had wanted Education. He knew so little *Latin*, that in writing upon *Titus Livius*, it is evident he did not well understand the Text he alledges, nay, and sometimes takes it in a wrong sense. As to the *Greek Tongue*, he knew not so much as how to read it; but he had the happiness to serve for an *Amanuensis* to the Learned *Marcelio Virgile*, who made him extract what was most Quaint in good Authors, and gave him since occasion to en-
chase in his own Works, the finest stroaks of *Plutarch*, of *Lucian*, and other the Master-pieces of the *Greek Tongue*, which are found therein, so delicately Translated. Yet was he not wanting to give an Idea, after his Mode, of a Prince, of a Senator, and a Souldier. As he had a Libertine Wit, and that his Manners were dissolute, he ever lov'd the Anarchical Government, and favour'd only that of Democracy, as coming nearer Anarchy than the rest. He was of all the Factions that were hatcht in his time, against the *Medici*, and *Ridolfi* having Convicted him of having been concern'd in that of their Exile, caus'd him to be taken, and put to the Rack, to make him reveal his Accomplices. He indur'd it with an obstinate silence; and Cardinal *de Medici* not having consented, without regret, to his being tortur'd, caus'd him to be enlarg'd, and for a reparation,

order'd him to have a great Pension from the Publick, in quality of Historiographer.

Thus *Machiavell* wrote the eight Books we have of the History of his Country, whose stile is so blooming and Correct, that it's tax'd with being too Finical and Tawdry. And principally in this, *Boccacio's* easiness and soft Liberty, has got of him the Preference. His Narration is sometimes Malign and Satyrical; and *Marc-Musurus* convinc'd him of it so clearly, that he durst not answer him. They will needs have too, that he has flatter'd his Country-men, and exaggerated their Noble Actions; but I do not perceive that they have plainly shewn wherein and how.

His greatest misfortune lay, in his not being able to rid himself of the Inclination he had for Liberty, and of having ill practis'd the precepts of dissimulation he gave to others. He bolted now and then, even in his History, Testimonies of Admiration for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a thing odd and unseasonable, in a Man designedly set to write, in order to insinuate into Peoples minds, the Dominion of the *Medici*. Nevertheless, his allowance was continued to him, having found the Secret of pleasing the Cardinal *de Medici*, in diverting him with admirable strokes and sallies of the finest Raillery, which he invented to admiration, upon all sorts of Subjects.

One day that he counterfeited the Gestures and irregular Deportments, of some of the *Florentines*, the Cardinal told him they wou'd appear very ridiculous upon the Stage, in a Comedy made in imitation of that of *Aristophanes*. There needed no more to set *Machiavell* to work upon *Clitia*, wherein the Parties he meant to ridicule, are drawn so to the Life, that they durst not be angry, tho' they assisted at the first representation of the Piece, for fear of augmenting the publick laughter, by betraying themselves. The Cardinal *de Medici* was so Charm'd with it, that being afterwards Pope, he caus'd the Decoration of the Theatre, the Habits, and the very Actors themselves, to be removed to *Rome*, that so he might afford his Court the Diversi-
on of that Play.

Machiavell found this turn to account, and receiv'd extraordinary Gratifications from Pope *Leo*, till that the Conspiracy of *Ajaceti* and of *Almanni*, to assassinate all the *Medici's* being discover'd, they had violent tokens, of its not being contriv'd without *Machiavelli's* Participation; but he had gone so slyly to work, that nothing cou'd be prov'd upon him. They durst not so much as apply him to the Torture, well knowing he wou'd endure it, without making any Discovery. They contented themselves with discrediting him, and
abandoning

abandoning him to the misery a man is reduced, having spent all. He lay under the Imputation of a Profligate Wretch, and an Atheist. And the little care he took to purge himself, made what was said of him, generally believed to be but too true. He unwittingly occasion'd his own Death, by taking out of Prevention a Medicine, which stiff'd him, but I have not found that he wou'd receive the Sacraments, till after being constrained so to do by the Magistrates.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

The Sixth Book.

CARDINAL *de Medici* had not yet been three Months return'd to *Florence*, when the Death of Pope *Giulio* the second oblig'd him to leave that place, in order for his repairing to *Rome*. He made his journey in a Litter, by reason of an Impothume he had in those parts, which Modesty forbids

forbids mentioning, and travell'd so slowly, that the Pope's Obsequies were already perform'd, and the Conclave begun, before his Arrival. He remembred *Marcileo Ficino*, his Father's intimate Friend, who had Erected his Scheme, at the moment of his Birth, and had several times affirmed him to be born under a Constellation, promising him the Papacy. But this Prediction had not so strongly affected him, as that of *Erasmus*, the famous German Astrologer, who an hour before the Cardinal *de Medici* entred the Conclave, signify'd to all the Cardinals there, that to no purpose was it for them to renew their Intrigues, and that infallibly not a Man of them shou'd be Pope. The Faithful *Bibiana* wou'd needs be the Cardinal *de Medici's* Conclavist, and serv'd him with so much the more application, that his principal Talent lay for the Negotiation in hand, and indeed no hard matter was it for him, to gain for his Master the Suffrages of two sorts of Cardinals, who durst not hope to be chosen one sort, because they were suspected to the Sacred Colledge, as being issu'd from Sovereign Houses; and the other, by reason of their two green Youth, and the little Account they were in, as to what concern'd the Election. As the Cardinals of *Arragon*, *Gonzaga*, *Sion*, *Corneli*, *Sanli*, and *Petruc*

Some

Some also of the Pretenders were there, who promis'd him their Votes, on condition that *Medici* wou'd give them his, in case they only wanted it to have the number sufficient. The first put to the Vote, was Cardinal *Riario*, and his Cabal was so much the more powerful, in that almost all those, who ow'd their Promotion to *Sixtus* the 4th, declar'd in favour of his Nephew, either that they hop'd to share among them so many rich Benefices falling vacant, by *Riario's* Exaltation, or that they meant thereby to testifie their Gratitude to the memory of their Benefactor. But two invincible Obstacles quickly checked *Riario's* Fortune; one, that the young Cardinals were afraid this old *Genoese*, making Profession of living austerely, wou'd oblige them to reform the Luxury, wherein the two fore-going Popes had suffer'd them to bask; the other, that not one of the Old aspiring Cardinals, cou'd be prevail'd with, in favour him with his Suffrage, so fully were they perswaded, that he needed but one or two Voices to make up the two thirds. The steddiness they shew'd, in not consenting to the Exaltation of any of the young, made the Young knit, in their turn, in a more strict Combination among themselves, and not to give their Votes to the Ancients, and because they must agree among themselves,

to

to avert the Publick Odium, they resign'd their Pretensions to Cardinal *de Medici*.

They suffer'd their Faction to make noise, as soon as formed, and an hour after, known was it throughout all the Conclave, that there wou'd be a young Pope, or none at all. Endeavours were used to disunite them, and he who set most Wheels a going, to bring this about, was Cardinal *Soderini*, who had such just Causes to obviate his most formidable Adversaries becoming his Master. But finding among them a too good understanding, and knowing besides the weakness of the Ancients, he did not doubt, but what he most dreaded wou'd come to pass.

I have already noted Cardinal *Soderini* to have been both the most Crafty and Self interested of all the Sacred Colledge; and *Bibiana* knowing this defect, attack'd him there. He lur'd him with hopes of an establishment for his Brother, as advantageous as that of *Florence*, and propos'd the Alliance of the House of *Medici* with that of *Soderini*, by the Marriage of *Soderini's* Niece, with the Cardinal *de Medici's* Nephew. *Soderini* found this offer to his advantage; and the Sureties having been giv'n on both sides, he fortify'd the young Cardinals Party, by joining it with those of his own Faction.

Thus

Thus stood the Affair, when the Conclave was fill'd with Terror, by slipping in a Note to it, written from good Hands, intimating, that the Cardinals, who had conven'd, and held the Council of *Pisa*, from whence they were forced to shift into *France*, had took Shipping at *Thoulon*, and were coming full sail to enter the Conclave, before the Election was over. Certain it was, that their arrival wou'd create great Troubles, and break all the measures taken by *Bibiana*, for the Promotion of Cardinal *de Medici*, because that, on the one side, the Cardinals coming from *France*, had been Excommunicated and Degraded by the late Pope, who had declar'd his Resolution, to have them burn'd before the Church of *St. Peter*, if they fell into his hands; on the other side, as they were Old Cardinals, they fore-saw that their Co-Brothers, to fortifie their Faction, and render it, by a new Addition, superiour to that of the Young, wou'd by all means let them into the Conclave. And in order to the taking off the Censures, and restoring them, wou'd use the absolute Power, which the Conclave pretends to have, during the Vacancy of the Holy See, which wou'd infallibly cause a Schism. It must needs be own'd that never was Conclave so much at a plunge, as this wou'd have been, had the Cardinals

Cardinals, they expected, come. But Providence, that destin'd the Papacy to Cardinal *de Medici*, eluded their Purposes by a furious storm, which seiz'd them at their very putting out of the Port of *Thoulon*, and suffer'd them not to go on shoar, in any of the places they desir'd to touch at, and left them not, till after having split their Ships, and thrown their Persons upon the Coast of *Pisa*, where the Magistrates were devoted to the Cardinal *de Medici*. These Magistrates knew that their Patron wou'd not be chosen, if the Old Cardinals got this new re-inforcement, and for the preventing it, they seiz'd their Guests, under the Shams of consulting their Preservation, and the Security of the Town.

They gave them to understand, that their Heads had been set at a Price; and that as *Tuscany* was very much infested by the *Banditti's*, there wou'd be People greedy enough of the two thousand Crowns, that had been promis'd to whoever shou'd bring their Heads to *Rome*, as to way-lay them with a design to kill them, if they undertook their Journey before the new Pope, upon the point of being Elected, had moderated his Predecessors Sentence against them. Little did it avail the sev'n Cardinals to declare, that they wou'd run the risque of that, and then

protest

protest against the Violence done them, and of the Right of Nations violated in their Persons; they were penn'd up in a House, surrounded with strong Guards.

Notwithstanding all this, the Conclave had not ended yet a while, 'cause the young and old Cardinals persisted in an equal Obstinacy, without an odd Adventure, which made them jump in an Accord. Cardinal *de Medici* being extraordinarily agitated with the number of Visits he made each Night, to all the Cardinals of his Faction, his Imposthume open'd, and the purulent matter issuing thence, exhall'd such a stink, as infested all the Cells, separated only by light Boards. The old Cardinals, whose Temperament being less capable of resisting the Malign impressions of so Corrupted an Air, consulted the Physicians of the Conclave, about the Course they were to take; and the Physicians seeing the Cardinal *de Medici*, and judging of his Constitution, rather by the ill Humours that issu'd from his Body, than of the vigour of Nature in sending them forth, answer'd, after they had been bribed by *Bibiana's* Promises, that the Cardinal *de Medici* had not a Month longer to live. This Doom made him Pope, in that the Old Cardinals, thinking themselves much Cunnin-ger, than the Young, were willing to in-

dulge them a satisfaction, which they presum'd wou'd not be of long continuance. They went and told them, that they yielded at length to their Obstinacy, on condition the like Compliance shou'd be return'd them some other time. Thus the Cardinal *de Medicis* was chosen Pope, upon a false insinuation, having not yet compleated his thirty sixth year; and as Joy is the most Sovereign of Remedies, he quickly after recover'd so perfect a Health, that the Old Cardinals had occasion to repent for having been too Credulous. The new Pope took care to send a Courier to *Pisa*, with Orders for the seven Cardinals Release, being there, under a Complimental Confinement; but without restoring their Money, or Equipage. Insomuch that those Eminencies being inform'd of the upshot of the Conclave, and having not wherewith to return into *France*, were too happy in quitting their Purple, trudging to *Rome* in quality of Supplicants, and laying themselves at the Popes Feet, who absolv'd them, and re-instated them in the Sacred Colledge.

Nevertheless, this was not it that caus'd him to assume the Name of *Leo*; and Historians do not guess better, when they make him chuse this Title, out of Emulation to his two Predecessors, the one of whom was call'd *Alexander*, and the other *Julius*. The truth is,

that the Cardinal *de Medici*, who gave a little too much way to Predictions, then remembred a Dream his Mother had, while of him with Child: She imagin'd her self deliver'd upon the great Altar of the Church *de Reparata*, of a Lyon, beyond Comparifon, bigger and finer than thofe the Suldan of *Ægypt* had fent to her Husband, but fo gentle, that he did not roar, and fo tame, he fuff'r'd himfelf to be Carefs'd like any little Dog.

The Treafures *Julius* had heaped up, in the Castle of *San Angelo*, abfolutely to purge away of Strangers, by Chacing the *Spaniards* away from *Naples*, ferv'd *Leo* to pay the debts he Contracted, when no more than Cardinal, and to fhew his Magnificence, in expence of an hundred thoufand Crowns, which the day of his Coronation coft him. their triumphal Arches were there, at the end of *St. Peter's Street*. All the Officers of the Court of *Pope*, appear'd there in ftately Garbs; and the firft time was it they ftrove with Emulation, who fhould have the moft fplendid Equipage. The Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino* preceded then, their Charges of Prefect of the City, and General of the Troops of the Church, and the People then received great Largelfes than they expected. It was juft the end of the year, that the Battel of *Ra-*

Venna had been sought, and that day seems to have been chosen, for the better noting the inconsistency of Humane things. The Pope was mounted upon the same Horse he had had on the day of Battel; and the Duke of *Ferrara* had taken care to redeem him from a Cavalier, that rid in his own Troop, to whom he fell for his Lot of the Plunder, he was never since made use of, and was carefully fed and lookt to. The main of the Ceremony consisted in the three different Personages, which *Giulio de Medici* represented that day. For in the beginning of this Solemnity, he was seen as a Knight of *Rhodes*, carrying the Great Guidon of St. *Jak* of *Jerusalem*. Then the Pope put upon his Head the Cardinals Cap, fall'n vacant by the Exaltation of his Holiness, and purg'd the Birth of all the Defects wherewith it was upbraided, by so Authentick an Act, that it was no longer possible to make him pass for a Bastard, without calling in question the infallibility of him who declar'd him Legitimate. And towards the end of the Cavalcade, the news being come of the Arch-bishop of *Florence* being dead, the Pope gave at the same instant the Arch-bishoprick to *Giulio*.

The late Pope had order'd, at his Death, that, in the first place, the City of *Modena* should

should be purchas'd of the Emperour *Maximilian*; and his Successor had a colour to deny, he had not needlessly drained the Churches Coffer. It was no hard matter to conclude the Bargain for an hundred thousand Duckets, because that *Maximilian* was of the temper of other Prodigals, who take at all Hands, and use no more Precautions in selling, than in giving: But when Colonel *Viefrust* was requir'd to resign the Place, he Commanding in it a German Garrison, he demanded Indemnityings; which mounted much higher than the Place had cost. The Pope endeavour'd, at first, to bring him to Compliance, by the way of Negotiation; but seeing the Colonel abated nothing of his Fierceness, he mated him with a Martial Man, a Person as brave as himself, and incomparably more Cunning. This was Count *Guido de Rangoni*, who took his measures with the Pope, and had occasion given him of Offence, that he might pretend Cause to be Malecontent. Then he went directly to *Modena*, where *Viefrust*, his Friend, received him, and afforded him the means of defecting his Garrison, and shouldering him out of the Town.

The Recovery of *Modena* brought the Pope into Repute, and gave him occasion to think of the settlement of his Brother *Giuliano*.

Charles Duke of Savoy had a Sister to provide for, who began to grow weary of a single Life. She was already above thirty years old, but none had yet Courted her in Marriage; for her Brother was too ill a Husband to give her a Portion suitable to her High Birth. Under these Circumstances the Pope had her sifted, whether she wou'd be his Sister-in-Law, and sent her such rich Presents, that they exceeded what she was able to bring into the House of *Medici*. He offer'd the Duke of *Savoy*, at the same time, to take her without Portion, and promis'd that Duke to render him so powerful in *Italy*, that the Duke, desiring nothing better, than to be rid of his Sister, without her putting him to Charge, gave his Consent. The Nuptials were extream magnificent, and the Pope sent as far as *Nice*, to receive his Sister-in-Law, and kept her the Train of a Queen. A Promotion was there of Cardinals, to honour her entry into *Rome*; and the Pope, that he might dispose the People to receive her the more chearfully, diminish'd the Impost upon Salt.

The Applauses his Liberality produc'd excited him to Found a Colledge for the Instruction of Youth, which he meant, at first, to render the famousst in the Universe. For with great Charges, he prevail'd with

Niphus to comethither to teach Philosophy, *Christoforo d'Arezzo* for Physick, *Butigella* for Law, *Partasius* for Eloquence, and *Chalcandilas* for the Greek Tongue. His Holiness was so afraid of having Criticks find barbarous Expressions in his Briefs, which those of some of his Predecessors were full of, that he chose for his two principal Secretaries, the two Men in the World who wrote best, namely, *Bembo*, and *Sadolet*. He augmented the Library of the Vatican, whose Inspection he committed to *Beroalde* the younger, who understood Books admirably well. He caused the *Penulus* of *Plautus* to be represented in twodays, the Expence of which was excessive, and the Actors Postures too free, yet gave no Scandal. The Pope had so well divined this to be the way to catch the Romans, and hinder them from inveighing against Abuses, that they erected him Statues for the very things, which had set them a writing Satyrs against the other Popes.

But the Design *Giulio* had bequeathed to his Successors, was too Noble to remain imperfect. The French had been no sooner driven out of the Land of *Milan*, than that they made preparations to visit it again. They laid Siege to *Novarra*, and that place was then of such Consequence, that by taking it, in it wou'd they have found the Keys of

all the other Cities of the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Massimilian Sforza* had rais'd eight thousand *Suizzars* to relieve it; but as he wanted Money, his Souldiers threatned to abandon him, afore he had led them into the presence of the Enemies. The Pope, to remedy this mischief, sent him five and twenty thousand Crowns, which enabled him to win the Bat-tel of *Novarra*, and preserv'd him his Dutchy. Then the Pope chang'd his Method, in regard of the *French*; for as his Design was only to hinder them from settling in *Italy*, he cou'd not endure that the *English* and *Flemmings* shou'd push them too much on the side of *Picardy*, though it was he himself that had invited them to the Undertaking. He influenc'd them to an Accommodation, by such cogent Offices, that the Peace was Concluded between *Lewis* the 12th, on the one side, and the King of *England*, and the Arch-Duke, on the other. But his Holiness had since occasion, to repent of his Mediation, for that the *French*, who cou'd not live at rest, had no sooner secured their Frontiers of *Picardy*, than that they bent their thoughts to the recovery of *Milan*. They went too about it with more wariness than they were wont; and either that their Ministers were become more refined, or that they had improv'd by their Losses; they apprehended, that their

Desiga

Design wou'd ne're succeed, unless they acted in Concert with the *Genoueses*. *Ottaviano Fregossa* had an Authority among those free People, little inferiour to the Supream *Francis* the first, who began to Reign in *France*, got his Pulse felt by such skillful Emissaries, that he divorc'd himself from the Union of the other Princes of *Italy*, tho' he had past his Word to the Pope, not to enter upon any Treaty without his Participation. The Pope believing him sincere, had bottom'd upon his faith the most important of his Intrigues, which Merits being known. Several marks of Folly had 'scap'd from *Massimilian Sforza*, as gave occasion to believe, that he might be stript of the Dutchy of *Milan* without scruple, seeing he was no longer in a Condition to defend it against the *French*, nor so much as to Converse among Men. The Pope then contriving his Brother *Giuliano's* Fortune, judg'd there cou'd never be a more favourable Opportunity offer'd for his aggrandisement. He open'd his mind to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose unquiet humour disapprov'd of nothing that departed from Ambition. This Duke fully confirm'd the Pope in his Resolution, assuring him that the *French* wou'd probably consent, that *Giuliano de Medici* shou'd have the Dutchy *Milan*, if they were repell'd in the Tryal they were going to make for its Recovery. Upon

Upon this Supposition, the Pope imagin'd, that the *Venetians* wou'd suffer him to act against *Sforza*, nay, and wou'd second him too, in case he wou'd divide, with them, the spoils of this Prince. Then made he the Proposal of it to the Ministers of *Spain*, who pretended to approve it, tho' they thought it ridiculous, because their present Interest was only to hinder *France* from re-instating it self in the Dutchy of *Milan*, which they saw plainly the Pope wou'd oppose, with all his Might, as long as he shou'd Cocker in his Mind, the Chimerical aggrandisement of his Brother. Thus the Pope, after having sounded his Confederates, became fully persuaded, that there was nothing more to do to enter *Milan*, than a well managing *Fregossa*. He did him all the Favours that the Court of *Rome* can grant, without its costing him any thing; I mean, that he gave him Benefices for his Brothers, and for his Children. It was thought *Fregossa* wou'd have yielded to such solid Testimonies of Friendship, if it had come sooner in the Popes Head to gain him. But he was already too far engag'd with the *French*, and only waited for their coming, to declare himself in their behalf. In the mean while, he us'd all such Demonstrations, as serv'd to keep the Pope in good Humour, and so craftily deluded

deluded him, that the Pope did not think he had a better Friend in all *Italy*, than *Fregossa*; witness the Plan which his Holiness Communicated to him, of all the *Italians* meant to do for the disputing the Passage of the *Alpes*. *Giuliano de Medici* was Elected General of their Troops, and advanc'd as far as *Florence*, the place appointed for the Rendezvous of those of the Church. But as he was there preparing a stately Equipage, and suitable to the Sovereignty he pretended to go take Possession of, as soon as he shou'd have repell'd the *French*, a Malign Feaver Checkmated him, and bereft him of Life in six Weeks space. His Death did not Chill the Popes Ambition, it only chang'd its Object. *Alfoncina*, his Sister-in-Law, had already long complain'd, that he did nought for young *Lorenzo de Medici*, his Eldest Brother's only Son, and Head of his House. His Holiness had ever excus'd himself upon the particular Obligations he had to Establish *Giuliano* before all things; but *Giuliano* was no more; *Lorenzo* was already twenty years old, well made of his Person, and shew'd much Inclination for Arms.

The Pope Conferr'd on him *Giuliano's* Place, in what regarded the Command of the Troops of the League, but he had neither

ther the Experience nor the Virtues necessary for such an Employ. His Genius was too slow, and so little capable of dis-entangling him from Pleasures, when once in them engag'd, that he was still in the Arms of the Courtizans of *Florence*, when *Trimulc*, who Commanded the Van-guard of the *French Army*, having caus'd a Peasant of *Piedmont* to shew him a Path, by which the light Cavalry might cross the Mountains of *Nice*, he acquainted *la Palice* with it, who took *Prospero Colonna*, in *Villa Franca*, and disperst all the Forces design'd to defend the Inlet of *Italy*.

There need'd no more to unhinge the Pope, and make him lose Courage. He imagin'd the *French* were already in *Milan*, and dispatcht away a Man of Credence, to Negotiate with them. This Agent fell unhappily into the Arms of the *Spaniards*, who distrusting his Journey, treated him as a Spy, that they might have a Pretence to rise him. They took from him his Instruction, and uncipher'd it; they thereby penetrated into the Popes Designs; and not willing to be the Victims of his Accommodation with *France*, caus'd their Army to stop near *Trebia*, when advancing in long Marches, to join the Forces of the Confederates.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo de Medici, who was at last departed *Florence*, upon the rumour of *Prospero Colonna's* being taken, and had put himself into *Plaisanza* with very brave Troops, press'd the *Spaniards* to come and join him, or to appoint him a place in the Dutchy of *Milan*, that might serve him for Rendezvous: But *Cardona*, who commanded them, made no positive answer, under colour that it would be exposing his Quality of Vice-Roy of *Naples*, to be in the same Camp with *Lorenzo de Medici*, whom he shou'd be oblig'd to obey, as being General of the League. Thus *Cardona* not budging, and *Lorenzo de Medici* not finding himself strong enough to March, without the assistance of the *Spaniards*, the *Suizzars* remain'd alone in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Nevertheless they pretended to defend it, and their Courage augmenting proportionably, as their Allies diminish'd, they with great firmness expected the *French*, and fought them at *Marignan*. They lost seventeen thousand Men in this Action, and their heart of Liver being dissipated by this blooding, they abandoned the *Milanese* with the Field of Battel to the Conquerours, and their Retreat made the *Spaniards* decamp, in haste, from near *Trebia*, to return into the Kingdom of *Naples*. The *French* wou'd have defeated them

them with small difficulty, if they had pursu'd them, but the Pope amused them by this Artifice.

He dispatch'd to the Most Christian King, the most cunning of his Emissaries, call'd *Lodovico Canole*; and to dispose his Majesty to receive his Agent the better, he wrote to *Lorenzo de Medici* to retire out of *Parma* and *Plaisanza*, and to the Inhabitants of those Cities, to go present their Keys to the Conquerours.

Canole found the King already weary of the abode of *Italy*, and propos'd to him the Interview of *Bologna*, as the only means to hasten his return into *France*. The King accepted it, without making reflection, that his Enemies only sought thereby to gain time. The Pope arriv'd first at *Bologna*, to receive there the King, who came thither two days after, accompani'd with eight thousand Horse. Chancellor *du Prat* drew up there the Plan of the Concordate, with Secretary *Graffis*; and this is the only particularity I relate of this Intrigue, because I have found no other that has escap'd the knowledge of the famous Monsieur *de Puits*; and besides, the Arch-bishop *d'Aix-Genebrard* has made a Treatise of it, which passes for *Anecdote*.

Then was brought upon the Board a Project of a League between the Holy See and

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France; but the Pope had his Answer ready. He let the King know, that it became neither the Gravity, nor Decorum of a Sovereign Pontife, to break his Word with the Spaniards, for the sixteen Months that he was bound to remain still united with them, but that this time shou'd be no sooner expir'd, but that he wou'd do all that his Majesty should desire of him. The King was satisf'd with this Excuse, because that being still young, and without Experience, he imagin'd that he shou'd never be soon enough in France, to receive the Applauses, which the Victory of *Marignan*, and the reduction of the Dutchy of *Milan* had deserved.

Thus ended the Interview of *Bologna*; and a Body may say, that the Pope preserved, by Cunning, his Predecessors Conquest to the Holy See, and the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Spaniards. His Holiness wou'd needs pass through *Florence*, in his way to *Rome*; and as his Country-Men had then improved Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, to the highest point they cou'd attain, they made him an entrance that will never have the like. *Giacomo de Sandro* made the Triumphal Arch of *St. Peter's* Gate, where, all that Fancy cou'd add to History, was so happily employ'd, that the Pope, who understood Painting admirably well,

well, upon his viewing it, fell into a kind of Extasie, from whence they had much ado to rouse him, to get him advance. The Work was so much the more singular, that *Baccio de Monte Lupo* had had a hand in it, as well as *Sandro*. But as their manner was quite different, easie was it to distinguish, to their very least strokes, and to render to each the Justice he deserved.

Giuliano de Tasso had made another Arch before the Church of *St. Felice*, whose Decoration was no less Charming for its oddness, than for its Beauty. As if this had not been business enough for him, he had undertaken and finish'd so lively and capricious a Representation of the Adventures of *Romulus*, that the Pope went thither two or three times to see it. *Antony de St. Gal* made, upon the place of the Lords, an *Octogone* Temple, whose Design was new. And the Giant, which *Bandivelli* put in the Gallery of the Palace, cou'd not be better proportion'd, notwithstanding his enormous bigness.

The Triumphal Arch of *Græmaccis*, between the Abby and Palace of *Podesta*, express'd the Marriage of the Arts with the Virtues, and that of *Rosso a Canto di Bisfierre* was marvelous for the diversity in its Figures. In a word, *André del Sarto* disguis'd the *Facciata de Santa Maria del Fiore* so, as that she seem'd

all

ill Marble, by a kind of Mastic appli'd upon Cloath, which *Lorenzo de Medici* had invented.

Alfonfina deg l'Orfini, refiding at *Florence*, took advantage of the good humour, the fight of fo many inimitable Objects had created in the Pope, to excite him to the aggrandifement of her Son. She had long already ey'd the Dutchy of *Urbino* as a Prey; and fhe tormented her Brother-in-Law, to give the investiture thereof to young *Lorenzo*, upon the fcore that this Dutchy was abfolutely for his Bienfeance, and a Neighbour of the State of *Florence*. But fhe had never been able to obtain any thing in *Giuliano de Medici's* Life-time, becaufe he had ever oppos'd whoever attempted on that fide, whether he had an abhorrence to the Confeating to fo vifible an Injuftice, or that he pretended acknowledgmet to a Prince, who had giv'n him a Retreat, during his Exile. But no fooner were his Eyes clos'd, than that *Alfonfina deg l'Orfini* redoubled her Inftances. The Pope had too much Wit, than to be ignorant of the injury he fhould do his Reputation, and the Scandal he fhould give the Chriftian World, by divesting one of his Vaffals without Caufe. He refifted fome time, but at length two things prevailed with him to give way. The firft, His
Cc. Sister

Sister-in-Law's extream Importunity, who left him not one moment at quiet, till she had got him to fall out with the Duke d'Urbino. And the second, That the Duke had not been careful to improve his Friendship before he was Pope, nor so much as since. And now follow Circumstances relating to this point, which well merit being known.

I have already remark'd, that he had us'd his utmost efforts to obstruct the Medici's from being restor'd in Florence, but this was not his greatest Crime. He had fil'd others to the Account, namely, that being General of the Church, and by consequence bound to pursue its Interests, he had nevertheless sent into France, the Count *Balthazar Castillon*, for the negotiating there an Accommodation apart, in Execution of which he had hindred the Souldiers of the Confederate Army, from passing upon his Territories for fear of their being at the Battel of *Ravenna*, and had deny'd giving passage to those that had been beaten there: Moreover, at the last irruption of the French into Italy, he had accepted the Lieutenantancy of the Troops of the League, under *Giuliano de Medici* appointed General: Yet when sickness had hindered *Giuliano* from Commanding them, and that young *Lorenzo* had been put into his room, the Duke d'Urbino had re-

was'd to serve under him, and alledg'd, for excuse, his not having consented to obey *Giuliano*, than on the score of Friendship, which gave him reason to believe, that he would have shar'd the Generalship with him; but that having no peculiar engagement with *Lorenzo*, and their humours, on the contrary, being incompatible, it was to be feared they would not pass two days together without a Broil and Disturbance.

This Carriage had extraordinarily mortified the Pope, in that the Duke d'*Urbino*, shew'd a two visible Contempt of his Nephew: Yet he would not have dared to complain, if the Duke had not added Injury to Disdain, by detaining in his state, the brave Companies of Ordonnance, that had been lev'd, instead of sending them at least to the Rendezvous, since he went not thither himself. This is what he was upbraided with, in the Manifest publish'd against him, when War was declared upon him. It was no difficult matter for *Lorenzo de Ceri*, who commanded the Army of the Church to despoil him; because that not having at that time any Souldiers to defend his State, and suspecting the principal aim was upon his Person, because his Death would have secur'd the Dutchy of *Urbino* to the House of *Medici*; he durst not Coop himself up in any

Place, for fear of being immediately there invested, and securing what he had most precious, accepted the azyle offer'd him by the Duke of *Mantoua*.

The Pope being flusht with the easiness of this Conquest, undertook another, which cost him as little trouble, tho' it failed little of proving fatal to him. *Pandolfo Petrucci*, who Commanded at *Sienna*, had afforded him a Retreat, during his Exile, and his Son the Cardinal had served for an Instrument, to advance him to the Supream Dignity of the Church, by forming the Faction of the young Cardinals, who obstinately refus'd having any other Pope than him; yet the Pope chose rather to fall into the blackest ingratitude, than lose the occasion that was offer'd, of joyning the state of *Sienna* to that of *Florence*: But he went not about it at first by main force, he contented himself with kindling in *Sienna* a Sedition, which, at length, constrain'd *Petrucci* to depart thence, and put in his room his mortal Enemy, devoted to the House of *Medici*.

The Republick of *Lucca* had not been better treated, had not the Emperour, *Maximilian* the First, been in *Italy* with an Army, wherein were reckon'd above sixty thousand Souldiers, with design to chase the French

out of the Dutchy of *Milan*, stopp'd the Popes Progresses. His Holinesses Troops were very brave and sprightly, he had promis'd them to the Most Christian King, who had demanded them with so much the more earnestness, in that he cou'd not so suddenly send into the Dutchy of *Milan*, Forces sufficient to dispute the entrance of it with the *Germans*. But the Pope judged the time of declaring himself not to be yet come; he re-inforc'd his Troops, and caus'd them to march into *Lombardy*, under *Bibiana's* Conduct, who then possessed all the Confidence of his Master. The secret instruction that was giv'n him, was, that he shou'd rest satisfi'd, at the first, with being a Spectator of the Tragedy, then going to be acted; but that upon the unravelling of the piece, he shou'd not too long defer throwing himself into the Party that Fortune favour'd, that so he might boast of having giv'n the last mortal blow to the Conquered.

Bibiana was a good Player in all kinds, yet he cou'd not shuffle so cunningly, but that his Game was discover'd. The Emperour advanc'd, without Obstacle, as far as the City of *Milan*, where the Constable of *Bourbon*, and the Mareschal de *Trimulee*, were resolv'd to sustain the Siege with their best Troops. The *Germans*

had laid it, in hopes the Citizens wou'd declare for them, and constrain the *French* Garrison to Capitulate. But *Trimulee* made the Souldiers live with so much moderation, that they gave not their Hosts any occasion of Discontent. Thus the Siege spinning out into length, the most Christian King's Ministers had opportunity to debauch *Staff* and *Puts*, two of the principal Officers of the eighteen thousand *Swizzars*, that compos'd the Flow'r of the Emperours Infantry. These two Leaders, after having made sure of their Companions, went to *Maximilian's* Tent, and demanded of him the Arrears that were owing to their Nation. *Maximilian* was so prodigal, that he never had Money in his Coffers; but, in recompence, he was so civil, that his Creditors had much ado to deny him time. His Caresses, however, cou'd not in the least prevail upon the two *Swizzars*; on the contrary, they put them into a Passion, and made them let fly such words, as cast *Maximilian* into a panique Fear. He imagined they had contriv'd to deliver him up to the *French*, in the same manner they had formerly sold *Lodovico Sforza*; and the horror of such a Treatment being stronger than his Reason, he determin'd of a sudden to fly away towards *Trent*, and did so accordingly, without being follow'd by more than

than his Domesticks. His Army, thus wanting a Head, disbanded of it self, and the French being thus deliver'd, bent their thoughts to take revenge on the Pope, who had fail'd them in time of need.

They helped the *Venetians* to recover the places, which the City of *Cambray* had taken from them; and the Garrisons which evacuated those places, not knowing what to do, suffer'd themselves to be perswaded by a French Emissary, who advis'd them to side with the Duke d'*Urbino*. To these were joyned disown'd Troops, Collected from all Parts; and the Duke d'*Urbino* placing himself at their Head, lead them, with an incredible Expedition, before his Capital City. *Giulio Vitelli* Commanded therein a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers, for *Lorenzo de Medici*; but the Women and their Children had no sooner heard of the Duke's being at their Gates, but the Sedition taking fire, became so great in a quarter of an hours space, that *Vitelli*, in spight of all his endeavours, was forc'd to Capitulat to go out with the White Staff.

Lorenzo de Medici receiv'd the tydings of this alteration at *Rome*, whither he had brought back his Uncle's Troops; he caus'd them to march, with all diligence, towards *Umbria*, and met with the Duke of *Urbino*

at the passage of a River. He might have defeated the half of his Men, if he would have been content with a Demi-Victory; but as he had a great advantage o're *Urbino's* Army, in what related to the Number and Discipline of his Souldiers, it made him rather inclin'd to wait for the occasion of giving him a total defeat, but never after cou'd he meet with such an opportunity, for that the Duke *d'Urbino*, who had many of the parts of a great Captain, whatever is said of him by *Guicchiardin*, stood upon his Defence in the Water, with a Pike in his hand; and holding firm with his choicest Forces, while the rest filed off behind, saved all to him belonging, e-v'n to the very Baggage, and wou'd venture nothing more afterwards, and rested satisfy'd with having recover'd his State. Nevertheless there was a Rencontre, where in *Lorenzo de Medici*, advancing too far, receiv'd so dangerous a Wound in his Head, as compell'd him to cause himself to be carry'd to *Rome*, that he might be the better look'd to.

His Army had no sooner seen him depart, but that it disbanded of it self; and the Pope foreseeing his Reputation upon the point of being lost, if thus frustrated in his Designs upon *Urbino*, he us'd all possible means to accomplish it in the manner projected.

jected. He knew the Duke *d'Urbino* had not a fund to pay his Troops, and that he was ev'n indebted whole Musters to the Spanish Regiments of *Suarez* and *Maldonet*.

These two Colonels had sufficiently utter'd their minds, that they only serv'd for Money, as to be deem'd capable of an Infidelity; and several Emissaries had order to feel their Pulses. In a short time they agreed upon the Reward to be giv'n them, for delivering up the Duke *d'Urbino*; and for fear of their failing in their word, his Holiness Emissaries, without their Participation, created with a Captain of Horse, of the same Nation, *Cabille*, by name, who promis'd to assassinate the Duke, at the first Review that shou'd be made. Either th'one or t'other of these two Conspiracies cou'd not not have miss'd of speeding, if the Duke of *Atria*, having been made privy, had not revealed them to the Duke *d'Urbino*, who shew'd much Judgment and Courage in so surprizing a Conjunction. He assembl'd his Army under Colour, of leading it to an Expedition, at that very instant to be executed. Those of the Conspiracy stood in their ranks, and the Duke having perceiv'd them, made an Eloquent Discourse, with design to reproach them with their perfidiousness. He related all the Circumstances of the Plot, he

he read Letters written with their own Hands, which Convicted them to all Intents, and demanded with a fierce and resolute tone, that those who had no share in their Crimes, shou'd do him Justice.

This Harangue produc'd such a hurly burly in the Souldiers minds that heard it, that the Accomplices might have had time to escape, if they had list'd; but as they were resolute Fellows, instead of being seiz'd with Fear, at the knowledge of their Plot's being discover'd, they made haste to execute this their enterprize; they fell to uniting their Regiments into a Body, and a surrounding the place where the Duke was mounted, but they found themselves environ'd with the Cavalry they did not in the least distrust.

Federigo Boffolo, a Prince of the House of *Mantoua*, who Commanded this Horse, had quitted the Pope's Service, because *Lorenzo de Medici* had taken from him the General Lieutenancy of his Army, which had been conferr'd on him by the Pope. He fear'd falling into his hands, as knowing *Lorenzo's* humour to be implacable, when it had been once provok'd; and this reason engag'd him to save the Duke *d'Orbino*. In a moment did he rally his Troops, spurr'd and fired them with Honour, animated them against the Criminals, and perswaded them

to stop 'em. And the *Spanish* Infantry seeing they were not strong enough to defend their Colonels, deliver'd them up, and the Horse forthwith shot, and put them to the Sword.

A Month after the Pope ran the same danger the Duke *d'Urbino* had avoided. I have already noted *Petrucchi* to have been expell'd *Sienna*, tho' his Son, the Cardinal had Contributed more than the rest, to his Holiness Election. The Father supported his Exile with sufficient constancy; but the Son being resolv'd, at any rate, to be reveng'd, did, for a long while, carry a Dagger under his Robes, with intent to kill the Pope in full Consistory, whither he came without Guards, as imagining it wou'd be easie for him to escape through the *Corse*, before they knew of the perpetration of the Fact. But he since chang'd his Mind, as to the place; and whether his Heart fail'd him at the Execution, or that he found more Obstacles in it, than he had imagin'd, he chose rather to dispatch the Pope, when a Hunting, where he sometimes wandred so far from Company, that he expos'd his Person to the possibility of being stabb'd. But there needed so many Circumstances to concur at the same time, to produce this opportunity, that it was neglected as soon as the former.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Petrucci* had contriv'd, in the third place, to form a Faction in the Sacred Colledge; and the first he sisted was Cardinal *Adrian de Corneto*, who fell under the delusion of the most amazing Prediction, that has been heard of, since Sooth-sayers were in the World. This Prelate was born upon the shoar of the *Tuscan Sea*, in the City, whence he borrow'd his Name. His Parents were so poor, as constrain'd 'em to put him out to Service, but he had the good luck of meeting with a Master, that caus'd him to study, and furnish'd him with the means to pass thro' all the Ecclesiastical Dignities, without being otherwise indebted for his Fortune, than to the Charity of the Author of his Education, and to his own Merit. Not long afore had he been to revisit the place of his Nativity, where knowing a Magician to be in the Mountains of the *Appenine*, he had the Curiosity to try, whether there was any certainty in his Predictions. To him went he in a disguised Garb, and consulted him about some Persons of his Acquaintance, whose adventures he was as well inform'd of as his own. The Wizzard gave him such Pertinent answers, as produc'd him the occasion of speaking of himself. He shew'd him his Horoscope, without telling him whose it was, and askt him what wou'd become of the Per-

for

son born under such a Constellation? If it is a Man, (reply'd the Magician) he will at least be Cardinal, and if it is a Woman, she will come very near the Throne, if she does not ascend it.

The Cardinal *Corneto* desir'd to know no more upon his own Article, and slyly turning his Discourse, engag'd the Magician to speak of the Pope. The Magician did assure he wou'd dye young, and of an unexpected Death. Then the Cardinal was tempted to enquire after the Fate of his Successour: And the Devil only waiting for this, to punish him for his Curiosity, told him, thro' the Wizzard's Mouth, That the Conclave that should be held after Pope *Leo* the 10th's Death, shou'd be long and factious, but that at last they wou'd Elect a Cardinal, named *Adrian*; that this *Adrian* shou'd be of very low Birth, and wou'd gradually mount to all the Dignities of the Church, without any Recommendation; and thro' his own sufficiency; that he wou'd be sixty years of Age at the Moment of his Exaltation, and not provided with any Benefice.

It must needs be own'd, that the Devil was never more ingenuous to deceive, than in this occasion. All these Circumstances suited admirably well with Cardinal *Corneto*, and with him only in the Sacred Colledge.

He

He was of a much lower Birth than all the other Cardinals; he had mounted thro' all the Degrees inferiour to that Dignity; he had been Chaplain, Canon, Dean and Bishop, without ever having had two Benefices at a time; he past, without Contradiction, for the Learnedest Member of the Consistory; he had never made his Court to any Man for Preferment, no, not so much as to his first Patron; Fortune went to seek him in his Chamber, and at his very Books. Those who had done him good, had had regard only to his Merit; for as to outward advantages, he was not possess'd of any. In a word, his Name was *Adrian*; and this last Circumstance of the Sooth-sayers Prediction, seem'd to point him out, as well as that of his Age, seeing he wanted but three Months, of having accomplisht his sixty'th year.

He took leave of the Magician, more satisfy'd than he went thither, but was much more pleas'd when, after his return to *Rome*, Cardinal *Petrucci* sollicitated him to enter into the Conspiracy. He imagin'd that by this means it was, that Destiny began to labour for his Exaltation, and beliey'd it so much the more strongly, as that the time drew near, that had been fore-told him, and that he had the hint of the Pope's being to be dispatcht after an unexpected manner. How-

ever, as Cardinal *Corneto* was considerate and wary in all his Actions, he wou'd enter into no positive Engagement, nor give any Token that might serve to Convict him upon occasion. He contented himself with assuring Cardinal *Petrucchi*, that he wou'd not reveal his Enterprize to any body, nor wou'd he go about to cross it.

Cardinal *Sauli*, who was afterwards wheedled to be an Accomplice, took the like Course, but out of another consideration, he had promis'd his Suffrage to *Bibiana*, for Cardinal *de Medici*, upon the hopes *Bibiana* had giv'n him of the first vacant Benefice, which he shou'd think worthy of his acceptance; and *Bibiana* pretended Cardinal *de Medici* had ratifi'd the Promise, yet it had not any effect; and tho' the first Benefice, having been dispos'd of to *Giulio de Medici*, Commander of *Rhodes*, this did not offend *Sauli*, as not thinking it strange, that the Pope had broke his word with him, in consideration of the only Person of the House of *Medici*, that was an Ecclesiastick, and design'd for the Province of Cardinal Nephew; but when other Rich Arch-bishopricks fell vacant, and he had demanded them, and yet were refus'd him, and conferr'd on others, who had indeed serv'd in the Conclave, but not so usefully as he, he was extremely

extreamly piqu'd; and Cardinal *Petrucchi* to improv'd this Resentment of *Sauli's*, for his being deny'd, that he agreed to the Revenge that was brooding in his behalf, without his meddling in the matter.

Cardinal *Riario* was the third that entred into the Plot, thro' a Motive of hatred against the House of *Medici*, which lasted since the danger he had run at *Florence*, when the *Pazzi's* Conspiracy broke forth, and through a Sentiment, common enough among th' *Italians*, that the Pope, how kind soever in his behaviour to him, would never forget his Uncle's Death, nor his Father's Wound, to which *Riario* had at least serv'd for a Pretext. Moreover he promis'd himself to be Elected Pope, since, being Dean of the Cardinals, and having more Benefices than any other, to distribute among them, they would give him their Votes; besides, his having brought himself into Credit at *Rome*, by his vast Expence, and by the magnificent Palace he had there caus'd to be built.

The last was Cardinal *Soderini*, who suffer'd himself to be cajoll'd with the hopes of re-instating his Brother in the perpetual Dictatorship of *Florence*, which seem'd to him easie, when the Pope was once dead, and that Cardinal *Petrucchi's* Father should have

have recover'd his Authority in *Sienna*,

The Conspiracy being thus formed, the measures they took to Execute it were as follow. They made sure of a famous Operator of *Italy*, call'd *Verfelli*, a Man lucky in Curing Wounds, and handled them so delicately, that he hardly gave any pain, such subtilty had he in his Fingers, and pleasingness in the performance of his Profession. This Fellow was extraordinarily Debaucht, and delighted in committing the blackest Actions, but he did them with so many Precautions, that they had never been able to surprize him, and his Reputation was whole as yet. His principal Talent lay for Venereal Distempers, and this it was introduced him into Cardinal *Petrucci's* Familiarity. He propos'd to him poysoning the Pope, by a way that cou'd not be discover'd. For the better making it understood, I must repeat that the Pope had had an Imposthume, which burst, but whose Wound was not wholly clos'd; and there did remain a hole, thro' which the matter gleeted from time to time, either that the Disease had been too great to be wholly Cured, or that the Physicians had judg'd, that Nature ought to be suffer'd to discharge it self that way, which it had made of it self; and indeed the Pope dy'd as soon as it clos'd. Wherefore he need-

ed a very able Chyrurgeon, that shou'd pay him constant attendance; and as the Bands were to be chang'd as often as he was dress'd, nothing was more easie than to poyson them, without its being perceiv'd, because the ordure, wherewith they wou'd be cover'd, wou'd hinder the Venom from being seen.

Cardinal *Petrucci* approv'd the Invention, and set a going his Intrigues, to work the Popes privy Chyrurgeon out of his Place, so to put *Vercelli* in his room. The thing did not seem difficult; for besides that the Popes Chyrurgeon was none of the ablest; and that they had it from Persons well inform'd, that his Holiness sometimes complain'd of the roughness of his Hand, he had the misfortune to displease such of the Servants, as were most in their Patrons favour. And, in effect, *Giulio Blanci*, the Chamberlain, took upon him to procure him his Consent, at the first sollicitation made him, by a Man trusty to Cardinal *Petrucci*; and the Cardinals who had the most intimacy with the Pope, did assure, that there was nothing more easie, than the bringing it about. The Cardinal Nephew, tho' a Man of great subtilty of Wit, and a pretender to Sagacity, yet was made a Cully; for they induc'd him to make the proposal of it to his Uncle, without knowing its tendency. But the

Pope

Pope shew'd more firmness on that side, than was expected; for he answer'd, that tho' his Chyrurgeon were still more incapable and unskillful, yet wou'd he keep him, because he cou'd not resolve upon discovering himself before a new Chyrurgeon, and concluded with saying, That he had rather endure his own, than change.

Nevertheless, they did not despair of making His Holiness condescend to it, at the long run; and I do not question, but that he wou'd, at length, have comply'd with their desires, had they persever'd in their Persuasions. But while they were contriving new means to introduce *Perfelli* into the Pope's Family, news came to *Rome*, that the Duke of *Urbino*, after having quash'd the Factions of his Army, Conducted it to *Sienna*, in order to re-invest *Petrucci* in that Government, in hopes that this re-institution wou'd help him to chase the House of *Medici* from *Florence*.

The Pope, seeing the Consequences of this March, dreaded losing what he had most dear; and supposing that the Duke of *Urbino* wou'd not have fram'd so hardy a Project, without the participation of Cardinal *Petrus*, who had not dar'd to appear at *Rome*, and laid at a Country-House, since the Disgrace befall'n his Family. His Holiness

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had

had him so narrowly watcht, that a Letter was intercepted, which he wrote to *Antonio Nini*, his Secretary in the Court of *Rome*. They found it all in Cypher; and this Circumstance augmented the Pope's Suspicion and Curiosity; for without this it had been slighted. The Art of Decyphering was not yet in use, and the Pope cou'd only learn from *Nini* the tenour of the Letter. His Holiness sent for *Nini*; and he, instead of setting a good Face on't, gave so many tokens of Surprise and Fear, that the Pope press'd him the more; and as he continu'd obstinate, denying Compliance with his Holiness, he threatned to put him upon the Rack. He appear'd then so unhing'd, that he gave occasion to execute upon him, what had been only propos'd to fright him; the Instruments of Torture were brought, and *Nini* had no sooner seen them, but that he discover'd the place where he had hid the Cypher, which Cardinal *Petrucci* had left with him. Thus other Mysteries came to light than those they hunted after.

Not that the Conspiracy was, in this Letter, so plainly coucht, as to be understood, but so many Particularities were there, which serv'd to hint it, that the Pope was advis'd nevertheless to put *Nini* to the Rack, tho' he had deliver'd the Cypher. And indeed they

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began

began torment him, but on the first pain he felt, he reveal'd all he knew; and as his Detention had been so secret, that his very Servants knew not what was become of him, he having been call'd out in the name of one of his Intimate Friends. The Pope did not despair of decoying Cardinal *Petrucci* and *Verselli*, the two principal Accomplices, in the Snare prepar'd for them, tho' absent at that time. And this Contrivance was us'd to draw them into the Noose. Inquiry was made, in what place *Verselli* resided at that time, and they were inform'd, that the *Gonfaloniere* of Florence, call'd *Gori*, had sent for him to Cure him of a secret Malady: This Magistrate was devoted to the House of Medici; and the Pope, who trusted in him, sent him word, that he might make use of *Verselli*; but that he shou'd cause him to be watcht with so much diligence, as that he might not escape out of his reach, that so he might be able to restore him in due time, and when he requir'd him at his hands.

The Commission was difficult to accomplish, because *Verselli* was to be secur'd, without his knowing of it himself. But *Gori* was so dextrous, that he fullfill'd his Directions, by causing him to come and lodge at his House, and by furnishing him with sufficient Recreations in his own Family, so

as not to be oblig'd to go seek themselves where
 What made the Pope act in this manner was,
 that he had a mind to attract Cardinal *Petrucchi* to *Rome*, a thing not to be thought of,
 if it appear'd that he had secured *Verselli*, by
 reason that the Cardinal wou'd instantly
 have harbour'd a suspicion of the Conspiracy's
 being discover'd. Thus, while *Verselli* was
 unwittingly a Prisoner at *Florence*, the Craft-
 iest Emissary of the Court of *Rome* was sent
 to the Cardinal, to prevail with him to come
 thither. The Pretext was, that the Pope
 seeing his Nephew wounded, and being not
 able to hinder his Troops from disbanding,
 or to debauch those of the Duke d'*Urbino*, his
 Holiness was no longer in a Condition to
 maintain his Authority in *Sienna*, and re-
 solv'd to re-establish *Petrucchi* with Decorum
 in that Town, before he seem'd to do it out of
 Compulsion. This Fiction was so conforma-
 ble to the posture of Affairs at that time,
 that Cardinal *Petrucchi*, with all his shrewd-
 ness took it for truth; and the Pope having
 sent to him thereupon, that he only waited
 his Return, to contrive with him the man-
 ner, by which Old *Petrucchi* was to return
 into *Sienna*. He suffer'd himself to be per-
 suaded to take a Journey to *Rome*, and to
 present himself at the Popes Anti-Chamber,
 where he was seiz'd and clapt immediately
 into

into a Dungeon. A Courier was forthwith dispatcht away to *Florence*, where *Verselli* was nabb'd playing at Dice, and, under a good Guard, brought away to *Rome*.

As Cardinal *Petrucci's* Detention cou'd not be secret, the Pope had giv'n Order to assemble the Consistory, as soon as he had set Foot in the Palace, and all the Cardinals, then at *Rome*, met accordingly, thinking their Convention was to regulate the affairs of *Seneca*. But they were very much startled, to see the Pope's severe Countenance, and to hear his Holinesses Speech, which cou'd not be more spirited, and more touching. He exaggerated the Benefits he had heaped upon the Sacred Colledge, for the making them the better conceive the Ingratitude. Then he spoke of a Conspiracy framed against his Life, by some Cardinals, without further explaining his Mind. He concluded with offering to pardon them, if they own'd the Crime at that very instant, and askt his Pardon in the presence of their Fraternity; and on the contrary, protesting to abandon them to the utmost rigours of the secular Arm, if they neglected the moment he now granted them of Clemency.

Cardinals *Soderini* and *Corneto* rose up from their Seats, and prostrated themselves at the Popes Feet, who pardon'd them,

in consideration of a Fine of ten thousand Crowns each. This slight Contravention to his Word, joyn'd to the signs of Indignation, which appear'd in spight of him in his Face, made Cardinal *Corneto* judge it convenient, to trust it only with reserve. He went his ways home to shift his own eminency into a Disguise, he put on the Garb of a Reaper, and slunk out of *Rome* thus ridiculously travesty'd. He only beat the hoof by Night, till he came into his own Country, where he spent the rest of his days in changing his Forms and lurking Holes, so strongly was he still persuaded, notwithstanding what had happen'd, that the effect of the Predictions I have mention'd, was inevitable. Yet nothing of what he expected came to pass, tho' the Magician had not told him one syllable of a Lye; for the Pope dy'd young, and of an unforeseen Death. His Successor, call'd *Adrian*, was the Son of a *Flemming* Bear-Brewer, that had rais'd his Fortune by his Learning, and possess'd but one Bishoprick, which the Emperour, whose Tutor he had been, made him, as it were by force, accept of. All the Equivocation in the matter, and what deluded Cardinal *Corneto*, lay in *Adrian's* not being yet of the Sacred Colledge, nor was he admitted of it, till the Promotion I am going to relate.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Soderini* banish'd himself to *Fu-
di*, where he dy'd of Melancholly; and Car-
dinal *Risio* was neither made a Prisoner, nor
under the prosecution of the Law, for the same
Reason that had engag'd him in the Conspi-
racy. For the Pope being afraid that he
shou'd be upbraided with having reveng'd
the ancient Quarrels of his House, if he put
to Death that Old Cardinal, who refus'd to
ask his Pardon, contented himself with ex-
acting from him a hundred thousand Crowns,
on Condition he shou'd go abide in the King-
dom of *Naples*, where he had many Bene-
fices.

Thus Cardinal *Sauli* was the only Person
taken into Custody, at his going out of the
Consistory, and putt into a Dungeon. Thus
far the Pope had acted in the Formalities, but
so did he not continue; for instead of Com-
missioning Cardinals, for the Tryal of their
Brothers, or nominating at least two of
them, to assist at drawing up the Malefactors
Processes, till it was time to give the Verdict
in the wonted manner, the Sacred Colledge
was interdicted the cognizance of it, and all
the Accomplices were indifferently referr'd,
without distinction of Quality, to the com-
mon Judges for Criminal Matters; who in a
little time made them undergo a most severe
Justice.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Patruccio* after having had his Members dislocated on the Rack, was strangled in the Dungeon, by an *Aethiopian*, call'd *Orlando*; and his Secretary *Nini* underwent the like Fate. The Operator *Perfelli* was drawn upon a Hurdle, Hang'd, his Flesh torn with Pincers, and Quarter'd. Cardinal *Sauli* ran a risque of his Life, if he had been less belov'd by the Popes Eldest Sister. This fair Lady, who had an Almighty Credit o're her Brother's Dispositions, threw her self at his Feet, and would not be got up, till she had obtain'd *Sauli's* Pardon.

What absolutely incens'd the Sacred Colledge against the Pope was, That excessive Sums, were exacted from the Parties that were Pardoned; for the way to punish Persons in their Purses, having not been as yet practis'd at the Court of *Rome*, they imagin'd that those who were made to redeem their Lives were innocent, and only put into the List of the Conspirators, as being known to be Rich, and that the Popes Coffers wanted Money to continue the War of *Urbini*. The Complaints the Cardinals made hereof, exasperated the Pope, and made him declare he wou'd return no more into the Consistory, since it was only full of his Enemies, till such time as he had introduc'd such trusty Persons in it, as that his Life might be there

in safety: And, indeed, in a few days after he made a Promotion of one and thirty Cardinals. In this number eight there were of high Birth, the principal of whom, was *Pompey Colonna*, who prov'd the most dangerous Enemy, the House of *Medici* has ever had; the rest were divided; for some of 'em were barely indebted, for their Dignity, to their own Merit. Others had the Cap out of Favour, as the Pope's Physician, who proposing his Son the Evening afore the Promotion, and his Holiness excusing it, upon his having already giv'n his Word to thirty Persons; the Physician reply'd to him, That as matters then stood, it wou'd not be thought the more strange at *Rome*, that the Promotion was of one and thirty Persons, than if it were just thirty. In short, some there were that dishonour'd the Sacred Purple, by having been chosen out of low'r Motives.

In the mean while Cardinal *Bibiana*, who commanded what remain'd of the Ecclesiastick Troops, in the Duchy of *Urbino*, march'd out for Succours. He had to do with an Enemy, who left him not at quiet; and his Souldiers, spighted at obeying a Man of such low Extraction, as *Bibiana*, threatned to kill him, when he made them undergo the least hardship. The Pope writ throughout all *Europe* for a re-inforcement, and at length

length set his Army again on foot, tho' it did not answer the hopes he had conceived of its Performances; for it was beaten before *Pizarro*; and the Duke *d'Urbino* was upon the point of ruining it to all Intents, when the Pope renew'd the design of spiriting o're his Troops. He employ'd for this purpose eight hundred thousand Crowns, and the subtle *Hugo de Montadex* was his Instrument in this Project. This shrew'd Spaniard, if ever there was one, who began then only to enter upon the great Employments, through which he pusht on since, by all manner of ways, did so well adjust his Intrigues, that the Duke *d'Urbino* came to be abandoned on a sudden, when he least expected it; and all the Favour afforded him by the Deserters, was leave to retire, and take along his Moveables and his Library.

Then the Pope invested anew *Lorenzo de Medici* with the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and solicited *Francis the First*, to give him in Marriage the Heiress of the House of *Bologna*, which was granted him. The Duke of *Albania* performed the Negotiation, and was promis'd, in Recompence, to be made General of the first League, that shou'd be fram'd against the *Turks*. A stately entrance was made the Princess at *Florence*, where the

Match

match was Consummated; but she dyed nine months after in Child-bed, of *Katharine* of *Medices*, who is to be the principal Subject of this Work. The News of her Decease was brought to *Rome*, in the time a Courier arriv'd, that with amazement fill'd the Town. He had been dispatcht by the Republick of *Venice*, and brought news, that *Selim* had seiz'd on *Ægypt* and *Syria*.

This Augmentation of Pow'r dispos'd the Christian Princes, to form a League with the Pope, against the Infidels. The Plan that was drawn of it, cou'd neither be more Regular, nor more Magnificent. The Emperor living then in a profound Peace, and by Consequence, able to bring on foot an infinite number of Souldiers, was to invade *Thrace*, thro' *Bulgaria*, with the Forces of *Germany*, and the Cavalry of *Poland* and *Hungary*. *Francis* the 1st. promis'd to embark at *Brindi*, with the Croisades of *France* and *Italy*, which amounted to above two hundred thousand Men, for the making a Descent into *Albania*, where the People waited for an occasion to Revolt. The *English*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*, had undertook to fit out two hundred Gallies, which shou'd bear away for *Constantinople*, where the Pope wou'd go in Person with a hundred other Gallies, of which he wou'd be at half-charge

charge with the State of *Venice*. But a Melancholly
 decline unseasonably taken, dissipated this
 vast Project. The Emperour *Maximilian*
 had got a fancy to take a Purge, at his return
 from Wild-Beast Hunting, and this cost him
 his Life; or that his Humours were too
 much stirr'd and fermented, or that he had
 done too much Exercise the day afore. Two
 Illustrious Rivals put in to succeed him,
 namely, *Charles* his Grand-son, and *Francis*
 the First. But they went to work in two
 different manners. *Charles* backt his Pre-
 tensions with a good Army, which appear'd
 in the Low Countrys; and *Francis* rested
 satisfy'd with buying with ready Money, the
 Suffrages of the Electors.

The Pope sent *Roberto Orsini* to the Diet
 to prevent the Election of either of these
 Candidates; and *Orsini*, the most dexterous
 Negotiator of his time, did not remain long
 at *Frankfort*, without penetrating, by his
 wonderful acuteness, into the secret of the
 Affair. He wrote to his Holiness in a Dis-
 patch, that cannot be sufficiently Commen-
 ded, that the *Germans* paulm'd upon *Francis*
 the First, by taking the Gold and Silver of
France, and that not one Elector was there, but
 wou'd refuse him his Vote, when the time
 came to give it; that indeed less Repugnance
 did they harbour in their Minds for Prince

Charles

Charles, but that neither would it go on his side, provided there were upon the Rank, a German Prince capable of expending at a rate fitting to uphold the Majesty of the Empire. Upon this Foundation the Pope endeavoured to undeceive *Francis* the First, and to wash out of his mind his Pretension to the Empire, by shewing him the impossibility of attaining it. He discover'd to him the Elector's Intentions, and added that he had nothing more to do, than traverse, by all manner of means, the Election of *Charles*, because that *Italy* and *France* might well labour all manner of Apprehensions from a Prince, who cou'd employ all the Iron in *Germany*, with the Gold the *Indies* began to send him in abundance. His Holiness farther observ'd, that the surest means to hinder him, was to Cabal for the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, who had already his own suffrage in Quality of Elector, and held himself assur'd of that of his Brother, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, that the five other Electors would declare themselves infallibly for him, as soon as they shou'd see him back'd by *France*, and the Holy See; but that without these two Protections they would lift up *Charles* to the Empire.

The Most Christian King did not receive his Office with the same sincerity it was paid;

paid, so difficult a thing is it, for a Man to be persuaded by the same Persons, by whom he thinks he has already been deceiv'd. His Majesty fancy'd it to be an Artifice us'd to make him renounce his own Glory. His answer spoke him a Prince, that thought himself Cocksure of attaining his Aims; and the Pope seeing his obstinacy, did no longer doubt, but that *Charles* wou'd be chosen, and unwilling by Consequence, unseasonably to incense him any longer by Fruitlessly cross-biting his Election, he wrote to *Roberto Orsini*, to promote and favour his Pretenees, which he did with so good a Grace, that *Charles* was coll'd to his Holiness for his Offices, or at least he so himself exprest,

In the height of this Intrigue, the Pope receiv'd the most sensible Affliction he was capable of, by losing young *Lorenzo de Medici*, his Nephew, who dyed of an Intemperance. He left but one Legitimate Daughter, and a Bastard Son. Thus there only remain'd of the Masculine Line of *Cosmo* the old, the Pope, and Cardinal *de Medici*. The Cardinal *de Medici* was not in a Capacity to raise up his House again; for besides his being a Priest, his Birth lay expos'd to so much Cavil, that Ecclesiastical Dignities were a much fitter Province for his Circumstances, they being a Sphere which none gain'd him.

him, than for him to Usurp a Station in the World, wherein the Popes Legitimation was not sufficient to maintain him. Thus the Popes Ambition having not a Domestick object more to promote, was thenceforward altogether busy'd in signalling his Pontificate, by acts transcending, or at least equalling that of *Giulio* the second, his Predecessour. He sent the Cardinal *de Medici* to *Florence*, there to supply *Lorenzo*'s Room, commanded him to govern it with as much gentleness, as that young Man had affected harshness. And indeed, *Lorenzo* had been dazz'd with his Uncle's Grandeur. And his Flatterers had made a shift to Corrupt him to all Intents. He imagin'd himself the greatest Captain of his time, for as he had a Body proper to support all the fatigues of War, and in this Conceit, instead of flattering the *Florentines* in their Commerce, he only talk'd of Military Functions, and had nought imported from Foreign Countries, save Arms and Horses. The Request of *Urbino* had inspir'd him with the design of re-establishing the Ancient Kingdom of *Urbino* in the same state, as at the beginning of the *Roman* Commonwealth; and as the Republicks of *Siena* and *Lucca* were a part of that Kingdom, *Lorenzo* was going to dispossess them of the little Liberty they had

had left. He had already taken the Draught of a Fortrefs at *Sauminato* of *Florence*, and that once built, he wou'd have demanded of the Emperour, to Erect *Tuscany* into a Kingdom, and if he had been refus'd, he wou'd have made his Addresses to his Uncle.

The *Florentines* being no strangers to this Project, might well fear its being prosecuted, by the Cardinal *de Medici*; and Despair was but too capable of hurrying them to the most Extremities against his Person, if he had not at first express'd his coming, to be only to repair the Failures of their late Ruler, and re-instate the People in perfect Freedom. He did it not however; for he committed not the choice of Magistrates, but bating that point, he suffer'd them to enjoy all the other Priviledges, serving to feed and flatter them in the Opinion the *Medici's* were glad they shou'd entertain of their pretended Franchise. The Pope was, in the mean time, industrious to improve the Policy of *Rome*, and made Noble Regulations for the removing and rooting out the Seeds of Feuds and Quarrels, transmitted from Fathers to Children. For since the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, a Man that had been anothers Heir, was bound to revenge him on all his Enemies, and if he declin'd so doing, out of Pusillanimity, or a Principle

of Religion, sink and setize he must out of the World, and pass all his Life in Infamy, without daring to appear in Publick. Then his Holiness settled a Colony in *Rome*, in the place where the Field of *Mars* had been, and peopl'd it with poor *Lombards*, whom the Wars of *Milan* had compell'd to change their Country.

He easily pardon'd all sorts of Crimes, provided they did not disturb the Publick Quiet, and the unfortunate *Giovanni Paolo Biglioni* could not obtain any Favour for some Excessions he had Committed at *Perouza*, tho' all the Court of *Rome* interceded in his behalf, and that the House of *Medici* was principally indebted to him for its Restauration in *Flourence*. The Pope sent for him under so specious a Pretence, that he suffer'd himself to be noos'd, however Crafty in other matters. The *Orfini*, who lost in him their best Refuge, he having never fail'd flying to their Succours, with two or three thousand Soldiers, upon the first Summons, soon vain set a going all manner of Engines for his safety. Nevertheless was he beheaded, and yet only impeach'd of the least of the Crimes he had Committed: For this execrable Wretch kept his own Daughter in the estimation of the whole World, and had neither regard to Religion, or to Publick Faith, in any other Rencounter,

The Punishment of *Sebastien de Trossé*, had more affecting Circumstances. This Man, the most famous Lawyer of his time, having been sent from *Padoua* to *Rome*, to teach the Law. He acquitted himself admirably well of his Profession, and had not yet been rebuk'd by Justice, when he came to be Convicted of having been Concern'd in the Falsification of a Publick Act. However, the Pope would have him to be proceeded against, with all the Severity of the Law, and burnt he was alive in the Field of *Flora*. On the contrary secret Crimes, and those that did not directly clash the Authority of the Holy See, or the frame of Government then in Vogue, were neither call'd to account nor punish'd. In their regard did his Holiness affect to pass for *Debonaire* and soft. His innate Magnificence render'd his Popedom in much the more Candour, in that *Alexander* and *Clement* his Predecessors had only been Liberal to Soldiers, as People were so very joy'd to see them succeded by a Man who hardly stunn'd or deny'd the least of their Desires, and he extoll'd himself with such a Gracefulness, when under the constraint of a Refusal, that no Abbot or Monk was discontented from him. All sorts of Persons might see him during the Repasts, and if he observ'd 'em to be in necessity, he delight

in making them draw near, and distributing among them a Purse of Duccates, which he took care to fill every morning, and never pass'd a day without emptying it. As he lov'd Luxury and Pleasure, People were not wanting to propose to him, all they judg'd capable of satisfying those two Inclinations. At this his best Friends conniv'd, instead of reproving it, and became themselves the Ministers of his Wantonnesses and Riots, as being assur'd thereby to keep their Tenures in his Favour. Besides, most of the Cardinals liv'd in such Excesses, as were little different from those of the Pope.

Thus the Sacred Colledge did much degenerate from what it was wont to be; for heretofore none were admitted into it, save Persons of Ability and Merit; and these Persons having no other Fund to subsist on, than a mean Pension giv'n them by the Popes, were remote from Luxury, as much out of necessity, as inclination. But the Mode being introduc'd, under the four foregoing Popes, to present the Cap to younger Sons of Sovereign Houses under Colour that those young Princes did it honour, in wearing it, and those same Persons, being besides possess'd of the best Benefices, that were vacant in States, that so they might not much Complain of being frustrated of

succeeding in the Temporality. The abundance of so many Riches and Conveniences had augmented the Luxury of their Houses, and this Luxury appear'd in all its lustre at Rome, for that their Relations were rather inclin'd they shou'd there abide, than in their own Country, where their Residence stood not with so much safety, for fear they shou'd be whirl'd with the Fancy of raising Combustions, as had been experienc'd in the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, who, after having been while peaceable in that City, yet incontinently after the Death of Duke *Hercules*, his Father, was not contented with Conspiring against his Eldest Brother, but had moreover engag'd his two younger in the same Plot, so as Duke *Alfonso* escap'd not otherwise than by Miracle from the Ambuscades of his three Brothers.

Among the Cardinals of Sovereign Families, were then reckon'd those of *Naples*, of *Ferrara*, of *Mantowa*, of *Massa*, and of *Bisignan*. The number of their Domesticks was six times greater, than that of others. They had all Equipages of Hunting, and Stables, which People went to view out of Admiration, the Hunting matches they made with the Pope, brought into the Field such a multitude of Birds, of Dogs, and Huntsmen, that whole Forests and Valleys were sometimes encompass'd with Nets, and depopulated of Game.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Bibiena* had moreover introduc'd another Recreation, of no less Expence, namely, the representation of Plays, in a lately Hall of the *Vatican*, wherein the Decorations were chang'd each Act. Their whole business was to provoke Mirth and Laughter, and no fault did People find with the Subjects being too Libertine. The greatest Mischief herein consisted, that the Children of the best Families, and the Handsomest, were invited to mount upon the Stage, and serve for Actors.

The Pope had another Infirmity, whereof I shall alledge two Examples, since it is difficult to find, in History, another Person subject to the like. As he was of a Facetious Humour, and lov'd to let nothing scape, without turning it to his Diversion, as soon as he perceiv'd a Man prepossess'd with a good Opinion of himself, he applauded him in all occasions, and made it his business to flatter him, till such time as he caus'd this Principle of Vanity, to degenerate into Extravagance. That Secretary of his, the ablest man alive for Chancery Expeditions, was call'd *Evangelist Tarasconi*: This Person had the weakness to neglect what he knew to Perfection, and pretended to Sciences he did not understand. As he cou'd not be ignorant that the Pope delighted more in Musick, than

In other Arts, as being therein most skillful and refin'd, he apply'd his mind to, without other design at first, than the being capable to talk regularly of Simphony. But as his Talent lay not this way, he mistook the Bent and Sense of the things shew'd him by his Masters. The Pope quickly perceiv'd it, and was not wanting to persuade him, that he made an admirable Progress, instead of minding him, that a Man ought never to study in spite of *Minerva*.

Tarasconi believ'd the Pope spoke Truth, and so addicted his Thoughts to Musick, that it crackt his Brain. I shall not relate in this place the particulars of his Follies; I will only say, that they never tyr'd the Patience of him that occasion'd them; for the Pope suffer'd him publickly to maintain, that no Man, as yet him, understood Musick, and let him alter all the Rules of that Art. Nay, his Holiness proceeded still farther; for he made him the Arbitrer of all the Symphony of his House, and promis'd him, on a day of Ceremony, to cause the Musicians Arms to be bound, under Colour, that their Nerves being fast ty'd, they wou'd touch the Strings with more steadiness and delicacy. At last, the Pope consented to the taking down the Tapesty of the Hall, where he din'd, upon a request presented him by *Tarasconi*, ground-

ded upon this, that the Voices of the Musicians, and the sound of the Instruments coming to strike the Silk and Woolen of the Tapitry, lost thereby their Force, and soft'ned by the same Reason that the Canon produc'd so little effect upon the like Materials, whereas if those Voices, and that sound broke themselves directly upon the Walls and Marble of the Hall, the Reflection wou'd be more entire and neat, and wou'd return more shrill to the Ears, and with a more agreeable sound.

After *Tarasconi*, *Baraballi de Gayeto* serv'd for a May-game to the Court of Rome. A Man, he was of a good Family, and well made of his Person, thought himself the best Italian Poet of his time, tho' a thing impossible to make more wretched Verses than those of his; which nevertheless he rehears'd gracefully enough. As soon as the Pope had heard him in his way, he perceiv'd his Self-conceit, and perswaded him, that never in this World, was there such stately Compositions, as his Verses. *Baraballi*, at first, fancy'd his Holinesses Discourse to be the effect of his Goodness; but the Pope strain'd so long to give immoderate Praises to this poor Poet, every time he came to recite new Pieces to him, that he quite unhing'd his Brain.

Brain. He put it in his Head, that he was another *Petrarch*, and whirl'd him with a desire to Triumph, as that Poet had done in *Rome*. The Pope took upon him to be at all the Charge of the Solemnity, and sent throughout all *Europe*, to invite the Tribe of *Parnassus*. All the Ceremonies that are to usher in an Action of this Importance, were seriously observ'd; and the Pope, to render it the more ridiculous, wou'd needs have *Baraballi* to be mounted upon an Elephant, a present newly made his Holiness by the King of *Portugal*. The Day was appointed, and all the Learned Men in *Italy* were invited to honour, with their Presences, a Ceremony that had not been practis'd for three hundred years past, under pretence of paying them the Expences of their Journeys, immediately upon their Arrival, and that they shou'd have a sufficient Allowance for their return home, after having been treated Magnificently, during their stay.

The News of this being brought to *Gaieta*, created Fear and Vexation. *Baraballi's* Relations hasten'd to *Rome*, to divert him from a Project, which over-whelm'd both them, and their Posterity, with Shame and Scandal; but they could not in the least prevail o're so prepossess'd a Soul, on the contrary, he treated them as Envyers of his Glory, and as Hereticks,

reticks, that had not a due Opinion of the Popes Justice and Sincerity, since they imagin'd his Holiness design'd to impose upon the World. Thus the day being come (twas the Feast of *San Cosmo*, and *San Damiano*, which the House of *Medici* own'd as their Protector) the Poets, fantastically Garbed, went to take up *Baraballi* at his own House, and Conducted him to the Feast prepared for him at the Popes.

The Spectacle afforded so much the more pleasure, in that it was hard to find, throughout all *Europe*, an Old Man of a better Mien than the Triumpher. He was extraordinarily tall, and proportionably big, had a fresh ruddy Countenance, and a venerable Beard. He had on the Triumphal Robe, and was array'd in all the Trappings, and surrounded with all the pomp, wherewith the Ancients had flatter'd the Vanlry of their Heroes. The Pope, who had an admirable lucky knack in all sorts of Ceremonies, peculiarly delighted in having this perform'd with the utmost exactness. *Baraballi* recited, with a Tone wherem he was observ'd to applaud himself the Essay he had Compos'd, to stand as his Master-piece. All the other Poets pretended to admire it, and protested, nothing comparable cou'd issue from their Veins. The Judges, upon their avowal, appointed

pointed the Triumph; and *Baraballi* descended into the Court of the *Vatican*, while the Pope stood at a Window to see him mount the Elephant.

This Animal was very docible; and shew'd some sort of Complaisance for his Gold Embroider'd Saddle, and Purple House, which he was not wont to wear, he gently suffer'd *Baraballi* to get on his back; and himself to be led along tow'rds the Capitol; but when he came to pass o're the Bridge, he fell into such a Fury, and caus'd the Triumpher to make so great a Leap, that had not the Rails sav'd him, the Triumpher had fall'n into the River; then scour'd the Elephant back, and topsy-turvey'd all in his way, from the Bridge to the *Vatican*, that is to say, the whole Troop of Poets. What render'd the Scene still the more diverting was, that the Elephant return'd into the Pope's Court with the same Docility, and without appearing any more mov'd, than if he had thrown no body down. He was thought to have been first startl'd into that wildness, by the sight of so many People, or by being surpriz'd with the confus'd sound of so many Voices and Instruments, echoing on all sides.

The Passion the Pope shew'd for good Cheer, made him love the Conversation of

Latin

four

four the most famous and agreeable Parasites, at that time in *Italy*, namely, the youngest of *Poggio's* Children, *Sacramore*, the Chevalier *Brandini*, and *Moine Bonfoni Mariani*. They invented Sawces for a new sort of Kickshaw, only stuff'd with what was most delicate in the Flesh of Pheasants, and cost so dear, that the Pope's Successour, cou'd not forbear having him in Execration, when he examin'd the Expence of his Table. The Parasites were there receiv'd at certain days, and treated in the manner they desir'd, on Condition they wou'd endure, without taking Pet, all the little Malices, that were put upon them by the Officers in the Kitchen, who made it their whole Contrivance, to impose on their Taste and Gusto, and caus'd them to eat the Flesh of Crows and Monkeys, under the Cover of some other Meats.

The Pope was likewise careful to invite the Cardinals on the first day of *August*, and with them while away the After-noon, in playing at Cards; but all the Money Gam'd for, and all the Winnings were distributed to the Poor; but he had an aversion for Dice, yet plaid so perfectly well at Chess, that none ever beat him at it. He abstain'd from Meat on *Wednesdays*, and eat only Herbs on *Fridays*, and never sup'd on

Saturdays

Saturday. old I have but one Circumstance to relate upon the abuse of his Indulgences, that has scap'd *Radze Paulo*, namely, that they shew'd, in *Germany*, a Bull, which set a Crown Tax for admittance into *Paradise*.

He neglected the Fabrick of *St. Peter*, to finish the Gallery of the *Vatican*, Painted by *Rafaels d'Urbis*, that incomparable Workman, that brought Painting to a point of Perfection, unknown since *Apelles*. He dy'd when thirty six years old; by the Popes and his own fault. He had a promise to be made Cardinal, and no doubt had been so at the first Promotion. The Pope delighted in Discouraging him, and almost daily survey'd his Work. He saw him once extraordinarily heated, and, feeling his Pulse, found that he had a Fever. He commanded him to get his ways to Bed, and had him blooded by a Chyrurgeon; but, he knew not that this Painters Fermentation proceeded from an over-abundant dalliance with a Lady. And as Bleeding is ever mortal in such like Cases, and that *Rafaels* did not discover his Infirmary to the Chyrurgeon, he fell into a drooping, which couch'd him in his Grave. He had laid the Design, and himself drawn the first Patterns of the *Tapistry*, which the Pope could to be made in *Flanders*, and these Patterns were so well wrought

wrought and accomplisht upon Silk and Woolen, that the Pope had reason to be therewith satisfy'd, tho' the suit of Hangings cost him seventy thousand Crowns.

Nevertheless I must note in this place, that Symony was neither so great nor so publick under the Popedom of *Leo*, as it had been under those of *Alexander* and *Julius*. For tho' the great Penitentiary was propos'd with two Maxims, which seem'd to Establish the Venality of Benefices, tho' he maintain'd that the Pope purg'd all sorts of Symonies, and cou'd not commit any: I have found nevertheless in Authentick Memoirs, that *Leo* did pretty often take the pains to examine the Expeditions, which this Penitentiary presented him to Sign, and twing'd him, sometimes with severe Corrections, yet without threatening to turn him out of his Place, as being in truth the sharpest Man in *Italy* for the Canon-Law.

I have likewise found in the same place, that *Giulio Bianci*, his Favourite, nick'd his time, to make him sign a Request, when his Holiness was so in haste, that he had not the leisure to peruse it. But *Bianci* being not wont to concern himself in such like matters, the Pope suspected some trick, and leaving what he had to do, read the Request quite over; he found he was petition'd to unise

two Benefices situated in two Provinces remote from one another; and the Motive of him who solicited the Union, was to raze a Church, that stood too near his Castle, which none wou'd have oppos'd, if the Priory of that Church, with which his Son was endow'd, had been join'd to another Priory, which the same Son held in another Province. But the Pope did not trouble himself with inquiring into the whole matter, he only ask'd *Blanci*, how much he had been promis'd to get the passing of that Request, and *Blanci*, thinking he stood well enough in his Masters mind, to own the truth to him, with impunity, made answer, he shou'd get two hundred Crowns. He had no sooner bolted these words, but the Pope ran to a Treasurary, wherein he had Money, took out two hundred Crowns, gave them to *Blanci*, and tore the Request.

In this manner did the Pope handle particular Affairs, while Fortune was labouring to embroil him with France. He had not had any eye with the Most Christian King, since young *Lorenzo de Medici's* Alliance had prosper'd so ill. On the contrary, he complain'd loud enough, that, at Paris, the French Ministry had spirited from him Cardinal *Ribini*, as to take away all shadow of Doubt, but that he was contriving

to be reveng'd, tho' the manner of that Cardinals dying after his return, at his coming from an entertainment, at which the Pope had presented him a Bir, which he durst not refuse, had not Convinc'd the most Incredible. Besides, he could hardly digest that the French Governour of *Milan*, would neither suffer the Benefices of that Dutchy to be enjoy'd by others, than those that espous'd the Interests of *France*, nor allow whoever disputed them, to go plead at *Rome*, whereas, afore the Holy See was in Possession, of nominating with full Right, and of judging Sovereignly the Processes which arose in that matter.

The Emperour had then, at *Rome*, an Ambassadour, *John Manuel* by Name who serv'd him with so much the more Zeal, in that he had been more a Favourite of *Philip* the First, his Father, than any other *Spaniard*, and had suffer'd Persecutions from King *Ferdinand*, after the death of that young Prince. This Minister had all the Qualities requisite for Negotiation, and had insinuated himself into the Pope's Affection, by giving him overtures, which nevertheless did not speed, for securing of *Luther* at the Diet of *Wormes*. And as he had discover'd that his Holiness would not be sorry to enter into a War against *France*, provided he might be furnish'd with a specious Pretext; he pro-

pos'd to him, in his Master's Name, the Plan of a League, that cou'd not be better contriv'd; for the Emperour was to be at all the Charges, and run all the risque, without reaping any apparent advantage. He took upon him to raise and maintain the Armies: He left to the Pope the liberty of naming their General; he consented they shou'd receive from his Holiness, the most material Orders, upon what they shou'd undertake, in short expos'd himself to the losing the Kingdom of *Naples*, in case they came by the worst. Nevertheless he renounc'd the Fruits, which the League might thereby reap, if Fortune favour'd his Arms; and making before hand but two Lots of the Spoil and Booty of the *French*, he gave one of them, namely, the States of *Parma* and *Plasanza*, to the Holy See; and th' other, containing the rest of *Milan*, was to be restor'd to the *Sforza's*, without the Emperour's exacting ought else, than a new Oath from him that shou'd be therewith invested.

The Design was too well laid, for the Pope to resist the temptation of espousing it. He sign'd the Articles, that were presented him, without making the least Alteration; and as there's no being without Money, in the beginning of a War, he created four hundred Offices of Knights, which were sold at a thousand

thousand Crowns a-piece, by assigning them a hundred Crowns Revenue, upon good Funds. He pitcht his Eyes upon *Prospero Colonna* for the Generalship, as supposing the *Marquis de Pescara*, Commanding the *Spanish* Infantry, would cotton well enough with him, after having Marry'd his Niece. But mistaken was he in his Conjecture, and the Army of the League had no sooner begun to act, but that *Prospero* and *Pescaro* fell out, and clast more than if there had been no Alliance between them.

Their Discord occasion'd the raising of the Siege of *Parma*, and plung'd their Troops into an irresolution, which would not have fail'd of ruining them, if the Pope had not devis'd an Expedient, that fitted his purpose. Tho' he knew how necessary the Cardinal *de Medici's* Presence was at *Florence*, to contain the People in due Bounds: Yet he wrote to him to leave that Place, and go with all Expedition to the Army, in quality of Legate, in order to reconcile the two principal Officers, and put them again upon Action: The Cardinal *de Medici* obey'd, tho' he despair'd of accomplishing the Order he receiv'd. He found more Obstacles in the way, than he had imagin'd; but yet had he more good Luck than trouble. He made *Prospero* receive a kind of Com-promise, which left him

hardly more than the bare name of General; and this *Pescairo* accepted, as finding it for his turn. Then the Cardinal induc'd them both to drive on the War into the Centre of *Milan*. This they consented to; and *Lautrec* having not been able to hinder them the passage of *Loglio*, as being abandon'd by the *Suizzers*, in default of payment, they were Masters of the Field, and presented themselves before the Gates of the principal Cities, wherein they were receiv'd by the remains of the *Ghibelline* Faction. Those of *Milan* were likewise open'd to them by the *Pallivici-ni's*, in revenge for that *Lautrec* had put two Cavaliers of their Family to Death, without observing all the forms of Law; and the *French* were driven out of *Lombardy* the second time, with as much ease as the former.

The Pope receiv'd the news of this success, when a Hunting, and had at the same time a tumultuous Joy, that cast him into a Fever. He was wont to swallow, at his going to Supper, Aloes Pills, which kept his Body open; and *Serapita*, his *Valet de Cham-bre*, whose business it was to present them to him, kept them so negligently in a Box, as render'd it easie to come at them, and take of them who would: Two days afore the Pope fell ill, *Lesbi*, the Butler, was mind-

ed to steal out a Couple, and swallow them, but was found dead the next morning in his Bed, tho' to sleep he went in perfect Health. The Pope took them at his usual hour, and perceiving they caus'd in him a thirsty alteration, call'd for Drink of *Barnaby Malespina*, who serv'd him with so bitter a Wine, that the Pope, who never complain'd of it at other times, cou'd not refrain from making Faces, while a drinking; and telling *Malespina*, *I fancy thou hast laid a Wager to make me drink Purle*. *Malespina* made no Answer, and was contented with pouring out what Wine remain'd in the Bottle, and with fetching another.

The Pope supp'd with a good Appetite, and was neither ill that Evening, nor the Night ensuing; but on the morrow after, having read the Dispatch Cardinal *de Medici* wrote him from *Milan*, he was seen in too violent Impetuosities of Joy, for People to miss observing, that too much foreign heat was kindl'd in his Temperament. Yet not much minded at first, because they did not think there cou'd be excess in rejoycing at the Disgrace of the *French*. But the Head-ach, which the Pope complain'd of afterwards, caus'd some reflection to be made, tho' it startled them not so much, as the shuddering he underwent, when he askt

for Drink. The Physicians, who observ'd this shivering, made no account of it; for besides its being neither great, nor of long continuance, it ended in so fine a breathing Sweat, that they positively declar'd, it wou'd cost his Holiness but that fit. However they had him carry'd to *Rome*, but some Miles distant; and the Malady augmenting still on the way; the first object that offer'd it self to the Pope, at his entrance into the *Vatican*, was an ill Omen; 'twas a Sculptor, who came to shew him the Design of a *Mausoleum*, the King of *England* intended to Erect for his Ancestors, of the House of *Lancaster*, whose Bones were gather'd up throughout all the Countreys in *Europe*, where they dy'd in Exile. As the Pope understood Sculpture admirably well, he was very curious that way, and caus'd *Michael Angelo* to work on his own Sculpture, which redoubl'd his Curiosity for such like works: And indeed he fail'd not to examine that of *England*, and speak his Opinion of it. As soon as in Bed, the Fever so diminish'd, that the Physicians believ'd him Cur'd. He spent two hours in receiving the Congratulations of the Cardinals, upon the Prosperity of his Arms, and felt not any pain, during that Interval. But all of a sudden the Fever return'd, nay, and at the very

very first, with that violence, that it got into his Brain. Then did they judge the Distemper to be extream; all sorts of Remedies were us'd to bring the Patient back into his right Senses; this they effected, and he recover'd his Reason, after six hours agitation, wherein they had observ'd all the symptoms of approaching Death. He open'd his Eyes, and spoke, but no more than only to recommend his Soul to God, and to affirm he dy'd content, after having recover'd *Parma* and *Plaisanza*, without shedding of Blood. Immediately he fell again into his Frenzy, and expir'd at one a Clock at Night, on the third of *December*, Fifteen hundred twenty one, being not yet full forty sev'n years old.

Never was Pope so lamented, by his Servants, bating *Malespina*, who, at break of day, came to the Palace Gate, with an Equipage of Hunting, and askt to be let out. The *Swizzers*, on the Guard, being fir'd with Indignation, to see a Man pursuing his Re-creations, in the midst of the publick Desolation, stopp'd him; and those who remembered what the Pope had said of the Glass of Wine he had giv'n him, thought themselves in duty bound to secure his Person, and clap Guards upon him. He was the more narrowly watcht, after that the Body being open'd,

in it were found two infallible marks of Poyson; one, that the Heart was markt all o're with Black and Livid Spots, and th' other, that the Spleen was so straitn'd and rivell'd up, that much ado they had to find it. The Cardinal *de Medici* had an account giv'n him of all these Particularities; and at his Arrival, all the late Popes Servants threw themselves at his Feet, and Conjur'd him to put *Malespina* to the Rack. But he wav'd doing it, upon his being press'd to enter the Conclave. Yet this was not what hindred him; and those who knew to the very bottom of his Soul, judg'd he forbore to examine into the Pope's Death, out of a refinement of Prudence, which made him fear finding, among the Culpable, Persons so qualify'd, as were able to break all the Measures he had taken to mount, in his turn, on the Throne of St. *Peter*. Thus *Malespina* was releas'd, without having suffer'd ought else than Imprisonment. He wander'd a long time in *Italy*, and at length settl'd himself in the City of *Milan*, where nine years after Pope *Leo's* Death, he was Condemn'd to be Beheaded for an Assassination. He own'd nothing, at his Execution, of what related to the poysoning the Pope, and his silence has giv'n Historians occasion to believe, nothing extraordinary to have been

in that matter; and that the Wound remain-
ing of the Ulcer, of which I have already
spoken, coming to close, and the ill hu-
mours, which Nature eas'd it self of that way
from time to time, being barr'd vent and
issue, had thrown themselves upon the no-
ble Parts: They added to back their Sent-
ments, that the South-wind blowing at that
time, had rais'd from the Marshes, near the
place where the Pope Hunted, a Pestilential
Exhalation, that had more influence upon
his Holiness, than on those of his Retinue,
because, that being more heated, the Pores
of his Body were more open to the Con-
tagious Air. But easie it is to answer to the
first of those Arguments, that the Wound
had been but too lately clos'd, to maintain
that the ill humours could have had leisure to
Corrupt the Heart and the Spleen to that
degreethey were found to be at the open-
ing of the Body, besides that prodigious
Thirst might be attributed to the Pills,
which when poyson'd is unknown. It is as
easie to answer to the second, in saying, that
it is to divine and form a Chimerical Exha-
lation, as to conceive one, of which the
Popes Body only to be susceptible; for be-
sides his being not the most fervent of the
Company in the Pursuit, and that common-
ly he did not over-heat himself; his Tem-
pera-

perament was the most robust, and capable of resisting the Injuries of the Air, of all those of the Court of *Rome*: For neither was there a bigger, nor a more vigorous Man in his Court, and his Humours were in so just a proportion, that they cou'd not have been disorder'd, till after a hundred years Conflict, if there had not been some Poyson in the business.

Be it as it will, never Pope dy'd of a Distemper, to which he had less Disposition. He was neither lean nor dry, and his Brain was too gross to be offuscated at first, by the bare Vapours of a slight Fever. The much Exercise he us'd, shou'd exempt him from an unforeseen Oppression. He had nothing weak, besides his Eyes, and indeed they were very large, yet was he able to see to the smallest things, and read a long while, without being incommoded. Moreover he had got a sort of Spectacles, which he ever carry'd about him, and principally a Hunting; they made him distinguish Birds and Beasts at a much greater distance, than other Persons cou'd do, and afforded him sometimes the pleasure of shooting and killing them, before perceiv'd by others. Their Matter was of Chrystal, and their Figure Concave. I have not met with the Workmans name, nor of him who presented them to the Pope;

but

but certain it is, that his Holiness had nothing so precious, and were not broken in the most violent Exercises.

He had a nice and pregnant Wit; and notwithstanding he had chosen for his Secretaries, the two most Eloquent Men of that Age; yet was he capable of turning a Letter as well as they, when so minded: witness that he wrote to Cardinal de Medici, upon sending him to Milan, in quality of Legate; and the agreeable Billers he directed to his Eldest Sister, Marry'd into the House of Cibo. He likewise compos'd easie and elegant Latin Verses, but did not so much delight in them, as in th' *Italian*; and as no man understood better than he, the finest Delicacy of the *Tuscan* Tongue, so no Man made more Elegant Sonnets, nor Elegies better contriv'd. He had taken the pains to read all the Celebrated Historians, and tho' he was too quick and hasty to have the patience to make extracts out of them; yet he had them so well imprinted in his mind, that he never fail'd of Citing their finest Passages, when th' occasion so requir'd. He was so early accusom'd to judge of others Works, that his Criticisme was commonly infallible; and in the debates which arose among the topping Wits, they appeal'd sometimes from the Judgment of the Academy to his

his Holinesses. He officiated the Solemn Feasts with so much Grace and Majesty, that Spectators flocked thither from all Parts of *Italy*. The Most Christian King, *Francis* the First, alter having seen him say Mass at *Bologna*, did affirm never to have been better Convinc'd of the importance of those Ceremonies, for the lifting up the mind to God. As the Virtue he most valu'd himself upon, was Liberality, he exercis'd it with an address, wholly peculiar to him. He had study'd to the very Gestures, and to the tone of the Voice, which were to be practis'd in giving, that he might the better win the Heart of him, who receiv'd any thing from him; and never was there observ'd more Joy in a Face, than appear'd on his, when it chanc'd him to be able to prevent the Requests that People had to make him. He affected sadness, when constrain'd to refuse them; but this sadness was accompany'd with so tender an Air, that People took his denial in no ill part. Ten Persons of Quality were once seen to demand of him the Arch-bishoprick of *Ravenna*; he had the same Civility for 'em all, discours'd 'em apart, pry'd, by their Discourse, into the secret of their Interests, and gave the Benefice to him he had a mind to gratify, without discontenting th' other Nine, because he gave or promis'd them others,

thers, that seem'd fitter for their turns. When he gave, he still made his Excuses, for his not having opportunity of giving more; and the blushing, which never fail'd mounting into his Face, made it believ'd he spoke sincerely, and gave such vast Ideas of his Magnificence, that all the Revenues of the Pope-dom, wou'd not have been capable of supplying them, if he had giv'en all from him expected.

He said his Father had enjoin'd him three Rules for his Conduct, at his sending him to Rome. The first, to use as much care to keep himself in his Friends Esteem, as he had taken to acquire their Amity. The second, to repair, by continual Offices, the Decay, which absence made in the strictest Engagements. And the third, to live without Distrust, in what regarded his own Person, but to be ever diffident for the State, of which he made a part. In fine, he had, during his Life, and after his Death, the two kinds of Happinesses, which most signalize the Governments of Sovereigns. I mean that Rome was extraordinarily flourishing, during his Papacy, and so miserable, under the two following, that the Comparison of them cou'd not be made without regretting him, more than ever any Man had been. Nevertheless a small Disaster befell his Body, the night before the Funerals

rale; for the Servant, that watcht him alone, falling asleep, the Rats attracted, perhaps by the scent of the Perfumes, with which he was embalm'd, gnaw'd his Nose, for which Reason his Face was cover'd, during the Ceremony of the Obsequies.

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE
OF
MEDICIS.

The Seventh Book.

AS no man understood better than *Leo*, to gain the Love of the topping Wits, by doing them good, no man had ever had so great a number of them in his service, and Interests. *Pamponius Latus* was the Brat of a Country Lads, whom the Prince of *Salerno* had abus'd, under the whea-
dle

dle of Marriage. He was brought up to War, and 'twas the ruin of the House of *San Severino*, of which his Father was the Eldest, that made him desist from that Profession. He was of the number of those Learned Men, who chang'd their Names, upon taking their Degrees in the University of *Rome*, and was subject to the Persecution that *Platina* and *Callimachus* endur'd on that account, when *Paul* the 2^d, instead of laughing at this Whim, imagin'd it a Cover to a Conspiracy, brooded against his Life. Afterwards his Auditory was so fill'd, that a Man was forc'd to go thither by Midnight to get room. He went from his Lodging before Day, and carry'd himself his Lanthorn. A hard matter was it to understand him, when he spoke Familiarly, but he never stutter'd in his Explications. He Cook'd all his Meat himself, and the most Illustrious of his Scholars sometimes gave him a helping hand, in the Kitchen, for to ease him, when they had a mind to make advantage of the time he wou'd have spent in that Office. He has left a Grammar, and the History of the Emperours, and of the Ruins of Old *Rome*. He dy'd at seventy years of age, by having drunk Wine with Ice.

Callimachus, after having been put to the Rack, and tormented more than the other Virtuosi's, because he had assum'd a Greek Name,

Name, which the Pope did not at all understand, made his escape into *Tuscany*, his Native Country, from whence *Casimir* King of *Poland*, call'd him to be the Tutor of his Eldest Son, reigning since by the Name of *Albert*. He was this young Prince's Favourite, but the Counsel he gave him, to rid his hands of the principal Lords of *Poland*, by placing them at the Head of the Army, when a going to Fight the *Moldavians*, wrought his Disgrace, and rais'd him so many Enemies, as put the King under the Constraint of abandoning him. He found however at *Vilna*, the Capital City of *Lithuania*, a Friend, who hid him in his House, fed him, without making any body privy, no not so much as his own Wife, assisted him till Death, caus'd his Body to be dry'd in an Ov'n, put into a Cup-board, and kept it till the anger of the Nobility being cool'd, he had an honourable Burial made him at *Cracow*, whether his Bones were transferr'd. We have nothing left of his, save the Life of *Ladislaus*, King of *Poland*, and of *Hungary*, who dy'd in the Battel of *Varnez*, but 'tis so fine a History, that whosoever shall take the pains to read it, will judge, without my giving him the hint, that there never was a better since that of *Tacitus*.

Geronimo Savonarola, a Religious of St. *Dominick*; rubb'd out in a prodigious Austerity of Life at *Florence*, and made appear what Eloquence can do, when backt with the repute of Sanctity. He had the gift of Prophecy, and this is, perchance, the reason, that tho' he had a great esteem for *Lorenzo de Medici*, and for his Children, he wou'd never have any other engagements with them, than those of Study, as considering them already as Persons that were to subject their Country. He govern'd his Republick for the space of four years, and was the sole Deputy to Negotiate at *Pisa* with *Charles* the 8th, whose coming he had long afore prognosticated. He declar'd publickly, that he wou'd be at *Naples*, and maintain his footing there, provided he caus'd his Troops to observe an exact Discipline; but that at all adventures he wou'd tread the *Italians* under Foot, at his return. It's somewhat a difficult business to say, what occasion'd the downfall of this new Prophet. Two things did thereto very much Contribute; one, the Reformation of Manners, which he aim'd at, introducing into *Florence*; and th' other, the Example he gave, for People to declaim Publickly against the Vices of Pope *Alexander* the 6th. Arm'd there were against him, the Relations of seven Gentlemen, whom he had caus'd to be

put to Death, for having Conspir'd against the Government. They set Fire to the Convent Door, hall'd away those who ran in to his Defence, took him and Condemn'd him to the Flames, which he suffer'd in reciting and begining the Psalms of Penitence. The best of his Works are, *The Triumph of the Cross*, and *The Simplicity of a Christian Life*.

Marcileo Ficino was such a little dapper Fellow, that he reach'd not to the Girdle of a Man of an ordinary Stature, but so well proportion'd, so neat, and of so gay an humour, that none were ever weary of his Company. He was so possess'd with the care of his Health, that he often shifted his black Cap, nay, six or sev'n times in an hour. He had caus'd Cloaths and Coverlets to be made him for all the Winds that blow'd, and for all the irregularities of the Seasons. The House of *Medici* procur'd him a Prebendary, a House in the Town, and another in the Countrey, and gave him likewise a Pension, for Translating into *Latin* the Works of *Plotinus*, of *Jamblicus*, of *Pselle*, and of *Cinesias*. He wrote with all the easiness imaginable. Yet what he did was so finish'd, that none durst venture to touch again and Polish it. He dy'd almost without pain at sev'nty years of Age, on the same Day that the *Floren-*

Vines caus'd *Paulo Vitelli*, their General, to be Beheaded, lest he might take revenge for their having unjustly suspected him of Perfidy.

Galeas Martinus serv'd King *Matthias* of Hungary, at the same time, as Tutor for Sciences, Secretary for Dispatches, a Captain in War, and Champion in Turnaments. He compos'd two Books, under a malign Constellation; the first, treating of Man, had the misfortune to be so roughly handl'd by *Merula* the Critick, that its Author, of his own proper Election, set about suppressing it; and the second, treating of the Virtue of the *Pagans*, made him incur the Persecution of the Religious, who caus'd him to be clapt up into Prison, whence he had been doom'd to the Flames, if Pope *Sixtus* the 4th, who had been his Pupil, had not interpos'd all his Authority, to retrieve him out of their Clutches, and after all, was he forc'd to undergo a publick Penance. He liv'd near fourscore years, and became so big and bulky, that not a Horse was there could carry him. He dy'd of a Rupture.

Elisus Calentius was a Poet famous at the Court of Naples, receiving, from King *Alfonso*, the same Pension that *Pontanus*, *Artilius*, *Gravina*, and *Senesar*, whose business was to judge of pieces presented to his Majesty,

ity, or in Verse or Prose. As he had set *Tibullus* for his Pattern, so was he of as amorous a Complexion as that *Roman*, and made Elegies infinitely passionate, tho' they were not all of equal force. He translated into *Latin Verse*, *Homer's War of the Rats* against the Frogs, and being become old, with a Charge of Children, he repented his having spared nothing, during his Youth, and testify'd it by this Epitaph.

*Vanum post Cineres de me toto Orbe legatur,
Scripta quæ sint tumulo Carmina digna meo ;
Ingénium natura dedit, fortuna Poetæ
Defuit, atque inopem vivere fecit amor.*

Pandolfo Callenuccio was a Lawyer by Profession, but so inconstant in his Study, that hardly had he the first Elements of a Science, than that he sell to another. However, being well made and Eloquent, and having besides the Qualities necessary for Negotiation, he was employ'd in several Embassies. He compos'd the Apology for *Pliny's Natural History* ; a Treatise of the Viper, and a Dialogue compleatly Boufon, Waggish, and Badeen, between the Head and the Cap ; afterwards he wrote the Lives of the Kings of *Naples*, in the *Tuscan Tongue*, upon the request of Duke *Hercules of Ferrara*, who

understood not *Latin*. He dy'd at *Pesaro*, where *Giovanni Sforza* had got him by Cunning, and caus'd him there to be strangl'd, in revenge, for having intercepted one of his Letters.

Jovianus Pontanus conceal'd under a stern and damping Mien, a Wit infinitely agreeable and nice. A Native was he of *Carretta*, in *Umbria*, where his Family being destroy'd by Fire and Sword, he took refuge at *Naples*. *Antonio da Palermo*, Secretary of State, found him in the Street, and in his Physiognomy observing I know not what extraordinary, took care of his Education. He instructed him so well, that he became the most Celebrated of the Poets, and Orators of his time. He wou'd needs also undertake to write History, but with so little success, that he accus'd himself, that all his endeavours of that kind, had only discover'd his Weakness. He succeeded his Benefactor in his place. He marry'd a Wife, who brought him a vast Fortune, but, tow'rds the end of his Life, he decay'd in his Reputation, by means of his Panegyrick on *Charles the 8th*, and his Dialogue, Intitul'd *Charon*, the first of those two pieces being so stuff'd with flattery, and with Detraction the second. He dy'd when sev'nty sev'n years old, after having caus'd a magnificent Tomb to be

Erected

Erected for his Bones; but forgot to put in-
to his Will, which Epitaph he design'd to be
thereon engrav'd, of the four he had Com-
pos'd.

Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellius was the
Son of a Black-Smith, and fell to keeping
School at *Tivoli*, where he gain'd sufficient
to live on at *Rome*, for several years toge-
ther. *Pomponius Latus* introduc'd him into
the Academy, which fil'd off his Rust, and
made him capable of being call'd by the Se-
nate of *Venice*, to write the History of the
Republick, and to give Lessons to the
young Gentlemen, for an allowance of three
hundred Crowns. He acquitted himself bet-
ter of the second of these Provinces, than of
the first; for the flattery is so coarse and
falsome in his History, that it's perceiv'd by
the least refin'd. But the most fantastick
part in his Conduct was, that after having
blunder'd in his particular History, he fan-
cy'd he shou'd perform better in the Gene-
ral. He began that of the World from *Adam*,
and made those great Volumes of *Enneades*,
which People are far from reading, when
once they are inform'd, that the most curious
Matters almost all are pass'd o're in silence,
and the most common handl'd with a tire-
some Accuracy. When sev'nty years old,
he dy'd of a scandalous Disease, the secret

of Curing which being not then known. He left but one Bastard, to whom he wou'd not commit the care of his Burial, he lov'd rather to contrive it himself, and writ this Epitaph, in which I shou'd find no Fault, had another made it.

*Quem non res hominum, non omnis ceperat aetas
Scribentem capite hac Cœtion urna brevis.*

Laurentianus, after having for a long while taught Philosophy and Physick at *Pisa*, and *Florence*, fell to Translating *Hippocrates*, because *Theodorus Gaza* did not, to his seeming, express; with sufficient force, the Canonical stile of that Author; afterwards he was minded to do the like with *Galen*; and he wrote with so much assiduity, that it's believ'd he wou'd have finish'd it, if he had not been whirld with a Crotchet to buy a House, tho' he had not the third of the Money, requisite to pay the Purchase. The Man who sold it, caus'd to be insert'd in the Contract, that in case *Laurentianus* did not furnish the whole Sum in six Months space, he might enter upon his House again, without being bound to repay what he had receiv'd, and *Laurentianus* consented thereto, as making account to have, by that time, wherewithall to clear the Bargain. But the measures sail'd him

him he had taken, and the term expir'd, without his being in a Condition to perform the Clause of the Contract; so that seeing the first Proprietor take Possession of the House again, he laid it so to Heart, that he tumbld himself head-long into the Well.

Antiochus Tibertus was brought from *Cesene*, the place of his Birth, into *France*, by a Souldier, that made him study at *Paris*. He follow'd his Genius, which inclin'd him to the study of Natural Magick, tho' this Profession was then so dangerous, that since two hundred years that *Piero Dapounno* dy'd, no Man had dar'd to be tampering that way. He imagin'd that it had only been Contemtable, by not having been hitherto plainly and ingenuously laid down and discover'd, but that it wou'd be infallibly Courted by all Mankind, when it shou'd be seen deckt with the Ornaments of other Sciences. Upon this Principle, he became a shrewd and learned Professor in Polite Learning, in Natural Philosophy, Physick, and the Mathematicks, and returning into his own Country, where there needed no more for his living insecurity, than to seduce some petty Prince; this was the more easie for him to effect, since during his abode in *France*, he pass'd for a famous Wizzard among the Astrologers of that Kingdom. He gave a reason

son for most of his Predictions, which other Sooth-sayers, nor the very Oracles themselves, had not yet bethought themselves of doing, and on this score was he consulted by Persons of all Qualities and Conditions, from the Prince to the Cobler; and at all times was there so great a Concourse of People at his Gate, that very often a body must have waited there several hours, to get to speak to him in one's turn. He wrote very Curious Books of Chiromancy, or Palmistry, Physiognomy, and Pyromancy; and viewing one day *Guido de Bogni's* Hand, surnamed *Guerra*, or *War*, on the account of his Valour, he assur'd him, that the best of his Friends wou'd cause him to be Assassinated, upon an ill grounded supposition, to which there was so much the less likelihood, that *Bogni* being the most determinate Souldier of his time, and Courting, hand over head, the most dangerous occasions, was, in all probability, like to perish fighting, one time or other. He likewise foretold, by the same way, *Pandolfo Malatesta*, Sovereign of *Remini*, the Richest Prince of *Italy*, in ready Cash, that he wou'd dye of Misery, in the Hospital of *Bologna*. In a word, the fancy took him to Calculate his own Nativity, and he found it his Fate to be Beheaded; and thus all came to pass. *Malatesta* was under a strict engagement

agement with *Bogni*, and trusted him with the Command of his Troops. *Bentivoglio*, his Father-in Law, sent him word, that he had committed the Sheep to the keeping of the Wolf; and that *Bogni* had treated with the Pope, for the remitting *Remini* under the Obedience of the Holy See. There needed no more to dispose *Malatesta* to invite *Bogni* to a Feast, at which *Tibertus* had Orders to attend. *Bogni* was slabb'd, while at Dinner, and *Tibertus* popt into a Dungeon, in the Cittadel, his Hands garnish'd with Iron Ruffs, and his Feet with Fetters, till such time as they shou'd put him upon the Rack, for the making him reveal the Accomplices of the pretended Conspiracy. In the meanwhile *Bogni's* Innocence came to light, and *Bentivoglio*, thinking him still alive, wrote to his Son in-Law, that he had giv'n him a false Intelligence. *Malatesta* repented his having been so hasty, and was going to *Tibertus* his Dungeon, to free him thence, when he met with an account, that this Wizzard had been caught making his escape. And indeed *Tibertus* calling to mind his Horoscope, and not knowing his Case to be in good terms, he had so well cajol'd the Goaler's Daughter, that she had let him down with a Rope into the Ditch, where the jingling of his Fetters discover'd him to the Sentinel:

Malatesta

Malatesta coming in just in that nick, fancy'd him to be Criminal, seeing he had that way attempted to get out of Prison; and without other form of Process, had him Beheaded. In a short time after, the Duke *de Valentinois* surpriz'd *Rimini*, and *Malatesta*, by meer hazard, making his escape, wandred from Town to Town, till being forsaken by his own very Children, upon his having endeavour'd to set them at odds; He found no other retreat, than the Hospital of *Bologna*, wherein he dy'd.

Filippo Beroalde acquir'd Fame by a whimsical way; for whereas other Wits endeavour'd to imitate the Writers of *Augustus* his Age; he imagin'd Quaint *Latin* to consist in obsolete Words, and set about bringing them again into vogue and usance. Having all good Books, and his Memory being prodigious, he enterpreted them to admiration, and there being not a person breathing, that made the like, in any wise comparable; Lessons; he had his Auditory, at *Bologna*, so throng'd with all sorts of People, principally Strangers, as barr'd all access to it. He has left, in this stile, a Commentary upon *Apuleius* his Golden Ass, containing so much Learning, that it wou'd be the best of all the works of that Nature, without its Author's strange Prepossession for some ridiculous Opinions.

pinions. He dy'd at fifty years old, and repented of his Barbarism, ev'n at the very moment of his Death.

Filippo Beroalde neither follow'd the steps nor the Genius of his Uncle before mention'd. He had a nice taste for *Quint Latin*, and set his Mind to Poetry. His Odes are so pure and so well wrought, that the Academy of *Rome* judg'd, that no Man, for this thousand years, has come so near *Horace*, and it was in virtue of this Testimony, which it gave to *Beroalde's* Merit, that *Leo* the 10th. for the attracting him to *Rome*, made him Keeper of the *Vatican Library*, but he dy'd at twenty eight years old, when on his Journey to take possession of his new Dignity.

Titus Sforza was a famous *Latin Poet* of *Ferrara*; he Compos'd several Eclogues, and put into Verse the History of the House of *Esté*. None wou'd have disputed with him, the Crown of Lawrel he laid claim to, after *Petrarch's* Example, if he had not got a Son, that prov'd a better Poet than himself.

Hercules Sforza made such fine Verses at sev'nteen years old, as created a Jealousie in his very Father; and as he had no less Qualities for the Court, than for *Parnassus*, he became the Duke his Master's Favourite, and made Love to that Prince's Sister, while
he

he wrote Verses, worthy of Antiquity, for the Dutcheſs *Lucretia Borgia*. He was Gallant, and very Ingenuous in Repartees; as he made a Lady ſenſible, upon her twitting him with his being Lame; for he extemporaneouſly reply'd, that *Venus*, who underſtood her ſelf as well as ſhe, at leaſt in Love, had nevertheleſs preferr'd *Vulcan* before others. But to his bane, the Beauteous *Toreti*, the Duke's Miſtreſs, inspir'd him with Love. They agreed to ſteal a little Matrimony Clandeſtinely, for fear their Nuptials might be croſs'd; and afterwards to proclaim their Marriage, as ſoon as it ſhou'd be a time fitting, they ſuppoſing the Duke wou'd leave off loving *Toreti*, when he came to know ſhe had thrown her ſelf into the Arms of another. But they were miſtaken, for hardly was the buſineſs known, but that *Sforza* coming to ſup at the Palace, was kill'd without any inqueſt being ſince made into th' Affaſſination.

Barthelemi Cocles ſtudy'd only Chiromancy and Metopoſcopy, but he became ſo knowing that no body ever made ſo many true Predictions. He was more hardy than other Wizzards; for he cauſ'd a Book to be Printed, enrich'd with Figures, wherein he reveal'd all the ſecret of his Art, explain'd all the Lines of the Hand, all the different Features

Features of the Face, and laid open the signification of each thing in particular. The Learned *Achillini* made a Preface to it, equally admir'd by the Friends and Enemies of the Art of Fortune-telling, and *Cocles* confirm'd his Positions, by an Experience, which brought him into a general Vogue. *Luca Gaurie*, so famous in Judicial Astrology, cou'd not make his own Horoscope, for want of knowing the day, and hour, and place of his Birth. He had recourse to *Cocles*, who, viewing his Hand, foretold him, that he wou'd suddenly undergo a Punishment, without having deserv'd it, but yet dye of it he wou'd not. And indeed *Bentivoglio*, Lord of *Bologna*, being inform'd that *Gaurie* had foretold that he shou'd be driven out of his Territory, before the years end, caus'd him to be Kidnap'd, and commanded he shou'd have the Strapado giv'n him five times together, which was accordingly executed; but also was he divested, in the time that *Gaurie* had noted. As to *Cocles*, he had no less foreseen the day and hour of his own Death. He knew it his Fate to be kill'd by a blow on his Head, and had Arm'd himself with an Iron Coif, under his Hat, and with a two-handed Sword, with which he Fenc'd Competently well. Yet *Hermes Bentivoglio*, the Great Lord of *Bologna's* Son, had desir'd him

so earnestly to tell him his Fortune, that he had declar'd to him he shou'd be banish'd, and kill'd in a Battel, which happen'd afterwards. But then *Hermet*, the most Brutal Man of his time, wou'd needs be reveng'd on *Cocles*, in causing him to be assassinated by *Caponi*, the most resolute of his Father's Guards. *Caponi* excus'd doing it a long while, and wou'd never have resolv'd upon it, had not the Fancie took him one day to consult *Cocles*, who, not knowing him, told him; *Alas my Friend, you'll commit a detestable Murder before it's yet night.* *Caponi* being surpriz'd at so unexpected a Prediction, imagin'd *Cocles* impos'd on his Credulity, as he had done on that of *Hermet*, and thereupon took his measures to kill him. He went and disguis'd himself in the accoutrements of a Porter, for the better performing his Design, and return'd in the moment that *Cocles*, who had been constrain'd for an indispensable Affair to go abroad, came back, and was just putting the Key into the Lock of his Door, he gave him so great a blow, with an Ax, that the Iron Coif cou'd not hinder *Cocles* head from being cloven. In his Closet a Book was found, written with his own hand, containing Predictions for those of his Acquaintance, whose Hands and Countenance

nance he had observ'd, and the Event justifi'd 'em to be all infallible, there not being a Person of that number, but dy'd after him of the Death he had noted.

Johannes Cotta was *Catullus* his Countryman, and had almost the same Genius. He gave himself to *Barthelemi de Lalliano*, and offer'd to keep him Company, when the French had taken him at the Battel of *Loghiana Dadda*, and this Office being declin'd, he went to *Rome* to hasten his Benefactor's Ransome, and dy'd there of the Plague, at eight and twenty years old. His Epigrams have the turn of those of *Martial*, and his Orations shew he had already read good Books. He had likewise Compos'd a Chorography in Verse, and Observations upon *Pliny*, but it's not known what are become of those two Works.

Peter Crinitus was *Politianus* his ablest Scholar, and succeeded him in the Chair, and Education of the Youth of *Florence*.

THE END.

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The Printed Authors and Manuscripts
whence the First Book is taken.

THE Acts of the Foundation of San Lorenzo's Church at Florence. The Paintings of the Old Palace de Medici. The Second Tome of Giorgio Vasavii. The Eulogy of Cosmo the Old, among the little Eulogies of Paulus Jovius. The Rights of the House of Savoy, to the Kingdom of Cyprus. The Fifth Part of Poggiodes Works. The First Edition of Coleon's Life. Antonius Campanus, in the Life of Braccio. Filippo Strozzi and his Childrens Manifest against Cosmo de Medici.

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts
whence the Second Book is taken.

Simoneta's Manuscript, in the French King's Library. Senator Moccenigo's History of Venice. The Memorial of the Seditions that happen'd at Florence, under the Government of the Republick. The Topographick History of Volterra. Onuphrius, in the Life of Sixtus the 4th. Politianus his Pazzi's

Al's Conspiracy, of old Aldus Menuceus his first Edition.

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts
whence the Third Book is taken.

Cardinal Nardi's *Negotiations with Fer-*
rand of Naples, and the Duke of Cal-
labria his Son. Two Italian Letters of Loren-
zo de Medici, one to justifie his Voyage to
Naples, address'd to the Council of Eight at
Florence, and the other written to all the Ma-
gistrates of the Republick, to give them an
Account of the Treaty he had there concluded.
The Neapolitan King's War against the Ba-
rons, by an unknown Author in the French
King's sixth Library. The History of Venice,
by Sabellicus. Platina's Continuator in the
Life of Sixtus the 4th. Andréa Doria's Life,
by Carolus Sigonius.

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts
whence the Fourth Book is taken.

THE *Tuscan Relation of Aetius Sincerus*
d'Anazar. The Index of Leonard
Aretin's Works, by Mr. de la Marc. The Saint
Denis, and the Diogenes Laertius of Am-
boise de Camaldoli. The Fourth Tome of
Pontanus his Works, by Aldus Manuceus.

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The Decades of Blondus. The History of Filippo Visconti. The Life of Charlemain, by Achaiolis. The Combat of Philadeste and Timotée in Mirtavis. The Conclave of Sixtus the 4th. The Greek Poems of Lascaris, and the Latin of Majoranus. The Epigrams of Marullus. The Preface to Plato's Works. The Eulogies of Politian. The Corrections and the History of the Visconti's, by Merula. Politian's Epitaph, by Cardinal Bombe. The Life of Savonarola the Jacobin.

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts
whence the Fifth Book is taken.

THE Discourse of the Medici's Exile, by Cardinal Bibiana. The Conclave of Julius the 2d. The Manifest of Lewis the 12th. against the same Pope. The Acts of the Council held at Pisa, during the Dissentions of Lewis the 12th. and Julius the 2d. Pompeo Colonna's Harangue to the Romans, to persuade them to recover their Liberty, while the Pope was sick. The Relation of the Cardinal Legat's flight, after the Battel of Ravenna, by Barnabé de Malespina. Machiavel's Life. Mario Musuoi's Observations upon that of Castruccio.

The

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts

whence the Sixth Book is taken.

LEO the 10th's Conclave. His entry into Florence, by Francisco de Sangallo. A Memorial of the Offices the Republic of Genoa has render'd, at sundry times, to France: Gensharard's, and Mr. du Puit's Observations upon the Concordate. A Collation of Guichiardini's Errors, by Giovanni Battista Leoni. Lorenzo de Medici's Negotiation with the Heirefs of Bologna, between the Duke d'Albania, and Cardinal Bibiana. That of the Election of Charles the Fifth, by Adolphus Vander Marck, Bishop of Liège. Leo the 10th's Instruction to Roberto Ursini upon the same subject. The Life of the first Duke of Urbin, of the House della Rovere. A Journal containing the Secret and Circumstances of Cardinal Petrucci's Conspiracy. The ten Books of Pope Leo's Epistles.

The Printed Authors and Manuscripts

whence the Sev'nth Book is taken.

THE Enlogies of Pontanus and of Domitius. The Collection of Anonymous Authors. The Life of Duke Valentino. Pesaro's Topographick History. Guichiardini's
first

first Book. *A Dissertation, by an unknown Hand, upon the Infelicity of Men of Literature.* Floridus Sabinus in his *Epilogies.* *The History of Remini.* Beroalde Senior's *Commentary upon Apuleius his Golden Ass.* *The Eulogies of the Vatican Library Keepers.* Julius the 3d's *Manifest against Giovanni Bentivoglio.* *Cotta's Eulogy, in Julius Caesar Scaliger.* *Justinian's History of Venice.* Mascardi in the *Art of History.* Antonio Possivino, in the *History of the Gonzaga's.* Longeuil's *Judgment upon Erasmus and Budeus.* Paulus Jovius his *Dialogue with the Marquis du Guast.* *The Neapolitan Families d'Armmirato.* *The Postscripts of Budeus, to divers Manuscripts in the French King's Library.*

FINIS.

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